

Sept. 9
B. G. L.

A

SHORT STORY

OF THE
Rise, reign, and ruin of the *Antinomians*,
Pantheists & Libertines, that infected the Churches
OF

NEVV-ENGLAND:

And how they were confuted by the Assembly of Ministers there: As also of the Magistrates proceedings in Court against them.

Together with Gods strange and remarkable judgments from Heaven upon some of the chief fomenters of these Opinions; And the lamentable death of Mr. Hutchinson.

Very fit for these times; here being the same errors amongst us, and acted by the same spirit.

Published at the instant request of sundry, by one that was an eye and eare-witnesse of the carriage of matters there.

by *T. H.*

Ephes. 4. 14.

Be no more children tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftinesse, whereby they lie in wait to deceive. Beware, lest yee being led away with the error of the wicked, yee fall from your own steadfastnesse. 2 Pet. 1. 3. 17.

LONDON,

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NEW ENGLAND:
OF
THE
RISE, PROGRESS, AND
FALL OF THE
SHORT STORY

To the Reader.



Meeting with this Book, newly come forth of the Presse, and being earnestly pressed by diverse to perfect it, by laying downe the order and sense of this story, (which in the Book is omitted) Though for mine owne part, I was more slow unto it, not as if I think it contains any thing but truth; but because the names of some parties, that acted in our troubles, that have, since that time, (I hope) repented, and so God having pardoned their sins in Heaven, I should have been loath to have revived them on earth; But considering that their names are already in Print without any act of mine, and that the necessity of the times call for it, and it's requisite that Gods great works should be made knowne; I therefore, in a strait of time, not having had many houres, have drawne up this following Preface, and prefixed hereunto, with some additions to the conclusion of the Book. I commend thy selfe and this to the blessing of God.

To W.

A 2

The

THE PREFACE.

After we had escaped the cruell hands of persecuting Prelates, and the dangers at Sea, and had prettily well o'tgrown our wildernesse troubles in our first plantings in New-England; And when our Common-wealth began to be founded, and our Churches sweetly settled in Peace, (God abounding to us in more happy enjoyments then we could have expected :) Left we should now grow secure, our wise God (who seldome suffers his people in this their merry some Pilgrimage, to be long without trouble) sent a new Plague after us, which proved the sorest tryall that ever befell us since we left our Native soile.

Which was this, that some going thither from hence full fraught with many insound and loose opinions, after a time, began to open their packs, and freely vent their wares to any that would bee their customers. Multitudes of men and women, Church-members and others, having tasted of their Commodities, were eager after them, and were freight infected before they were aware, and some being tainted conveyed the infection to others: and thus that Plague first began amongst us, that had not the wisdom and faithfulness of him, that watcheth over his vineyard night and day, by the beames of his Light and Grace cleared and purged the aire; certainly, we had not been able to have breathed there comfortably much longer.

Our discourse of them shall send to shew,

1. What these opinions were.
2. How they spread so fast, and prevailed so suddenly.
3. How they did rage and raigne when they had once gotten head.
4. How they fell and were ruined, when they were at highest.

The opinions, (some of them) were such as these; I say, some of them, to give ut a tast, for afterwards you shall see a lister of fourescore and eleven of their rats hung up against the Sunne, besides many new ones of Mistris Hutchinsons; all which they hatched and dandled;

1. That the Law, and the Preaching of it, is of no use at all, to drive a man to Christ.
2. That a man is united to Christ, & justified without faith: yea from eternity.
3. That faith is not a receiuing of Christ, but a mans discerning that he hath received him already.
4. That a man is united to Christ onely by the worke of the Spirit upon him,

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3. That a man is never effectually Christ, till he hath assurance.
 6. This assurance is onely from the witnesse of the Spirit.
 7. The witnesse of the Spirit is meere immediate, without any respect to the word, or any concurrence with it.
 8. When a man hath once this witnesse he never doubts more.
 9. To question my assurance, though I fall into Murther or Adultery, proves that I never had true assurance.
 10. Sanctification can be no evidence of a mans good estate.
 11. No comfort can be had from any conditionall promise.
 12. Poverty in spirit (to which Christ pronounceth blessednesse, Mat. 5. 3.) is onely this, to see I have no grace at all.
 13. To see I have no grace in me, will give me comfort; but to take comfort from sight of grace, is legall.
 14. A hypocrite may have Adams graces that he had in Innocency.
 15. The graces of Saints and hypocrites differ not.
 16. All graces are in Christ, as in the Subject, and none in us, so that Christ beleeves, Christ loves, &c.
 17. Christ is the new Creature.
 18. God loves a man never the better for any holinesse in him, and never the lesse, be he never so unholy.
 19. Sin in a childe of God must never trouble him.
 20. Trouble in conscience for sins of commission, or for neglect of duties, shews a man to be under a covenant of works.
 21. All Covenants to God expressed in works are legall workes.
 22. A Christian is not bound to the Law as a rule of his conversation.
 23. A Christian is not bound to pray except the Spirit moves him.
 24. A Minister that hath not this (new) sight, is not able to edifie others that have it.
 25. The whole letter of the Scripture is a covenant of works.
 26. No Christian must be prest to duties of holinesse.
 27. No Christian must be exhorted to faith, love, and prayer, &c. except we know he hath the Spirit.
 28. A man may have all graces, and yet want Christ.
 29. All a beleevers activity is onely to act sin.
- Now these, most of them, being so grosse, one would wonder how they should spread so fast and suddeily amongst a people so religious and well taught.
- For declaring of this be pleased to attend two things.

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1. The nature of the Opinions themselves, which open such a faire and easie way to Heaven, that men may passe without difficulty. For, if a man need not be troubled by the Law, before faith, but may step to Christ so easily; and then, if his faith bee no going out of himselfe to take Christ, but only a discerning that Christ is his owne already, and is only an act of the Spirit upon him; no act of his owne done by him; and if hee, for his part, must see nothing in himselfe, have nothing, do nothing, only he is to stand still and waite for Christ to do all for him. And then if after faith, the Law be no rule to walk by, no sorrow or repentance for sin; he must not be pressed to duties, and need never pray, unlesse moved by the Spirit. And if he falls into sin, he is never the more disliked of God; nor his condition never the worse. And for his assurance, in being given him by the Spirit, he must never let it goe, but abide in the height of comfort, though he falls into the grossest sins that he can. Then their way to life was made easie, if so, no man well so many like of it.

And this is the very reason, besides the novelty of it, that this kind of doctrine takes so well here in London, and other parts of the Kingdom, and that you see so many dance after this pipe, running after such and such, crowding the Churches and filling the doores and windows, even such carnall and wile persons (many of them) he care not to heare any other goodly Ministers, but only their Leaders. Oh, it please his nature well to have heaven and their lusts too.

2. Consider their sleights they used in fomenting their Opinions, some of which I will set downe.

1. They laboured much to acquaint themselves with as many, as possibly they could, that so they might have the better opportunity to communicate their new light unto them.

2. Being once acquainted with them, they would strangely labour to insinuate themselves into their affections, by loving salutes, humble carriage, kind invitations, friendly visits, and so they would win upon men, and steale into their bosomes before they were aware. Yea, as soone as any new-commers (especially, men of note, worth, and activity, fit instruments to advance their designe) were landed, they would be sure to welcome them, shew them all courtesie, and offer them roome in their owne houses, or of some of their own Sect, and so having gotten them into their Web, they could easily poison them by degrees. It was rare for any man thus hooked in, to escape their leaven.

3. Because such men as would seduce others, had need be some way eminent) they would appeare very humble, holy, and spiritual Christians, and full of Christ; they would deny themselves farre, speak excellently, pray with such soule-ravish-

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ing expressions and affections, that a stranger that loved goodnesse could not but love and admire them, and so be the more easily drawn after them, looking upon them as men and women as likely to know the secrets of Christ, and to some counsels of his Spirit, as any other.

And this opinion of them was the more lifted up through the simplicity and weaknesse of their followers, who would, in admiration of them, tell others, that since the Apostles times, they were perswaded, none ever received so much light from God, as such and such had done, naming their Leaders.

4. As they would lift up themselves, so also their Opinions, by building them over with specious termes of Free Grace, glorious light, Gospel truths, as holding forth naked Christ: and this took much with simple honest hearts that loved Christ, especially with new converts, who were lately in bondage under sin and wrath, and had newly tasted the sweetnesse of Free Grace; being now in their first love to Christ, they were exceeding glad to embrace any thing, that might further advance Christ and Free Grace; and so drank them in readily.

5. If they met with Christians that were full of doubts and fears about their conditions, (as many tender and godly hearts there were) they would tell them they had never taken a right course for comfort, but had gone on (as they were led) in a legall way of evidencing their good estate by Sanctification, and gazing after qualifications in themselves; and would shew them from their owne experience, that themselves for a long time, were besotted even as they are now, in poring upon graces in themselves, and while they did so they never prospered, but were driven to pull all that building down, and lay better and safer foundations in Free Grace; and then would tell them of this Gospel-way we speak of, how they might come to such a settled peace that they might never doubt more, though they should see no grace at all in themselves: and so (as it is said of the Harlots dealing with the young man, Prov. 7. 21.) with much faire speech they caused them to yeeld, with the flattering of their lips they forced them.

6. They commonly laboured to work first upon women, being (as they conceived) the weaker to resist; the more flexible, tender, and ready to yeeld: and if once they could winde in them, they hoped by them, as by an Eve, to catch their husbands also, which indeed often proved too true among them there.

7. As soon as they had shew wrought in themselves, and a good conceit of their Opinions, by all these waies of subtilty, into the hearts of people; nextly, they strongly indeavoured with all the craft they could, to undermine the good Opinion of their Ministers, and their Doctrine, and to work them cleane out of their affections, telling them they were sorry that their Teachers had so mis-led

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them, and trained them up under a Covenant of works, and that themselves never having been taught of God, it is no wonder they did no better teach them the truth, and how they may sit till doomes day under their legall Sermons, and never see light, and withall sometimes casting aspersions on their persons, and practise, as well as their doctrine, to bring them quite out of esteem with them. And thus they did so effectually, that many declined the hearing of them, though they were members of their Churches, and others that did heare, were so filled with prejudice that they profited not, but studied how to object against them, and censure their doctrine, which (while they stood right) were wont to make their hearts to melt and tremble.

Yea, some that had been begotten to Christ by some of their faithfull labours in this Land, for whom they could have laid down their lives, and not being able to beare their absence, followed after them thither to New-England, to enjoy their labours; yet these falling acquainted w. th those Seducers, were suddenly so altered in their affections towards those their spirituall Fathers, that they would neither heare them, nor willingly come in their company, professing they had never received any good from them.

8. They would not till they knew men well, open the whole mystery of their new Religion to them, but this was ever their method, to drop a little at once into their followers as they were capable, and never would administer their Physick, till they had first given good preparatives to make it worke, and then stronger and stronger potions, as they found the patient able to beare.

9. They would in company now and then let fall some of their most plausible errors, as a bait let down to catch w. shall; now if any began to nibble at the bait, they would angle still, and never give over till they had caught them; but if any should espy the naked hook, and so see their danger, and oppose against the opinions, then you should have them fairly retreat, and say, Nay, mistake we not, for I do mean even as you do, you and I are both of one mind in substance, and differ onely in words: By this kind of Jesuiticall dealing they did not only keep their credit with them, as men that held nothing but the truth; but gained this also, viz. that when afterwards, they should heare those men taxed for holding errors, they would bee ready to defend them, and say, (out of their simplicity of heart) Such men hold nothing but truth, for I my selfe once judged of them, even as you do, but when I heard them explaine themselves, they and I were both one: By this Machivilian policy, these deluders were repared sound in their judgements, and so were able to do the more hurt, and were longer undetected.

10. When men they saw eminent in the Country, and of most esteem in the hearts of the people, they would bee sure still, to father their opinions upon them, and say, I hold nothing but what I had from such and such a man, whereas their judgements and expressions also were in truth, farre differing from theirs upon point of truth, but if it came to passe, that they were brought face to face to make it good, (as sometimes they they have been) they would winde out with some evasion or other, or else say, I understood him so & for it was so frequent with them to have many dark shadows and colours to cover their opinions and expressions withall, that it was a wonderfull hard matter to take them ardy, or to know the bottome of what they said or sealed.

11. But the last and worst of all, which most suddainly diffused the Venome of these opinions into the very veins and vitals of the People in the Country, was Mistress Hutchinsons double weekly lecture, which shee kept under a pretence of repeating Sermons, to which resorted sundry of Boston, and other Townes about, to the number of fifty, sixty, or eighty at once, where after shee had repeated the Sermon, shee would make her common opinion it, vent her mischievous opinions as shee pleased, and twisted the Scriptures to her owne purpose; where the custome was for her Scholars to propose questions, and she (gravely sitting in the chaire) did make answer therunto. The great respect shee had at first in the hearts of all, and her graceful and sober carriage of masters, for a time, made this her practise little suspected by the waddy Magistrates, and Elders of the Church there, so that it was continued at, for a time, (though afterward reproved by the Assembly, and called into Court) but it held so long, untill shee had spread her leaven so farre, that had not providence prevented, it had proved the Cancker of our Peace, and Plague of our comfort.

By all these meanes and cunning sleights they used, it came about that those errors were so soon conveyed before we were aware, not only into the Church of Boston, where most of these seducers lived, but also into almost all the parts of the Country round about.

These opinions being thus spread, and grown to their full ripensse and latitude, through the nimblenesse and activity of their fomenters, began now to lift up their heads full high, to shew us in the face, and to confront all that opposed them.

And that which added vigour and boldnesse to them was this, that now by this time they had some of all sorts, and quality, in all places to defend and

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Patronise them; Some of the Magistrates, some Gentlemen, some Scholars, and men of learning, some Burgessees of our Generall Court, some of our Captaines and Souldiers, some chiefe men in Townes, and some men eminent for Religion, parts and wit. So that wheresoever the case of the Opinionists came in agitation, there wanted not Patrons to stand up to plead for them, and many of the Opinionists were complained of in the Courts for their misdemeanors, or brought before the Churches for conviction or censure, still, some or other of that party would not only suspend giving the vote against them, but would labour to justify them, side with them, and protest against any sentence that should passe upon them, and so bee ready, not on ly to harden the Delinquent against all meanes of conviction, but to raise a mutinie, if the major part should carry it against them; So in Town-meetings, Military-trainings, and all other societies, yea, almost in every family, it was hard, if that some or other were not ready to rise up in defence of them, even as of the apple of their own eye.

Now, as their boldnesse, pride, insulency, alienations from their old and dearest friends, the disturbances, divisions, contentions they raised amongst us, both in Church and State, and in Families, setting division betwixt husband and wife!

Oh the sore censures against all sorts that opposed them, and the contempt they cast upon our godly Magistrates, Churches, Ministers, and all that were set over them, when they stood in their way!

Now the faithfull Ministers of Christ must have dung cast on their faces, and bee no better than legall Preachers, Baals Priests, Popish Factors, Scribes, Pharisees, and Opposers of Christ himselfe.

Now they must bee painted at, as it were with the finger, and reproached by name, Such a Church Officer is an ignorant man, and knows not Christ; such an one is under a Covenant of works; such a Pastor is a proud man, and would make a good persecuter; such a Teacher is grossely Popish; so that through these reproaches, occasion was given to men to abhor the offerings of the Lord.

Now, one of them in a solemn convention of Ministers, dared to say to their faces, that they did not Preach the Covenant of Free Grace, and that they themselves had not the scale of the Spirit, &c.

Now, after our Sermons were ended at our publike Lectures, you might have seen halfe a dozen Pistols discharged at the face of the Preacher, (I mean) so many objections made by the opinionists in the open Assembly a-

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g with our doctrine delivered, if it suited not their new fancies; to the marvellous weakness of holy truths delivered, (what in them lay) in the hearts of all the weaker sort; and this done not once and away, but from day to day after our Sermons; yea, they would come when they heard a Minister was upon such a point as was like to strike at their opinions, with a purpose to oppose him to his face.

Now, you might have seen many of the Opinionists rising up, and contemptuously turning their backs upon the faithful Pastors of that Church, and going forth from the Assembly when he began to pray or preach.

Now, you might have read Epistles of defiance and challenge, written to some Ministers after their Sermons, to crosse and contradict truths by them delivered, and to maintain their own way.

Now, might one have frequently heard both in Court and Church-meetings where they were dealt withall, about the rapacious and exorbitant varriages, such bold and menacing expressions as these.

This I hold, and will hold to my death, and will maintain it with my blood. And if I cannot bee heard here, I must bee forced to take some other course.

They said moreover what they would doe against us (biting their words in) when such and such opportunities should bee offered to them: as they daily expected. Inasmuch that we had great cause to have feared the extremity of danger from them, in case power had been in their hands.

Now, you might have heard one of the preaching a most dangerous Sermon in a great Assembly when bee divided the whole Country into two ranks; some (that were of his opinion) under a Covenant of Grace, and those were friends to Christ; others under a Covenant of works, whom they might know by this, if they evidence their good estate by their Sanctification: those were (said he) enemies to Christ, Herods, Pilates, Scribes and Pharisees, yea, & witchcrafts; and advised all under a Covenant of Grace, to take up on them as such, and did, with great zeale, stimulate them to deale with them as they would with such: And withall alledging the Story of Moses that killed the Egyptian, barely left it so: I mention not this or any thing, in the least degree, to reflect upon his man, or any other, for God hath long since opened his eyes (I hope) But to shew what rather these opinions did make there, and will any where else where they get an head.

Now, might you have seen open contempt cast upon the face of the whole generall Court in subtile words to this very effect. That the Magi-

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strates were Ahabs, Amaziahs, Scribes and Pharisees enemies to Christ, led by Satan, that old enemy of Free Grace, and that it were better that a Adulterers were hung about their necks, and they were drowned in the Sea, then they should censure one of their judgement, which they were now about to doe.

Another of them you might have seene so audaciously insolent, and high in floure in spirit and speech, that shee had the Court of Magistrates (when they were about to censure her for her pernicious carrriages). Take heed what they did to her, for shee knew by an infallible revelation, that for this act which they were about to passe against her, God would ruine them, their Posterity, and that whole Common-wealth.

By a little taste of a few passages instead of multitudes here presented, you may see what an height they were grown unto, in a short time, and what a spirit of pride, insolency, contempt of authority, division, sedition they were acted by: It was a wonder of mercy that they had not set our Common-wealth and Churches on a fire, and consumed us all therein.

They being mounted to this height, and carried with such a strong hand (as you have heard,) and seeing a spirit of pride, subtilty, malice, and contempt of all men, that were not of their minds, breaking in upon their hearts (saddened and our spirits tired) we sighen and groaned to Heaven, we humbled our soules by prayer and fasting, that the Lord would find out and blesse some means and wayes for the cure of this sore, and deliver his truth and our selves from this heavy bondage. Which (when his own time was come) hee bearkned unto, and in infinite mercy looked upon our sorrows, and did, in a wonderfull manner, beyond all expectation, free us by these means following.

1. Hee stirred up all the Ministers spirits in the Country to preach against those errors, and practises, that so much pestered the Country, to inform, to convince, to rebuke, &c. thereby to cure those that were diseased already, and to give Antidotes to the rest, to preserve them from infection. And though this Ordinance went not without its appointed effect, in the latter respect, yet we found it not so effectuall for the driving away of this infection, as we desired, for they (most of them) hardened their faces, and bent their minds to oppose and confirme themselves in their way.

2. Wee spent much time and strength in conference with them, sometimes in private before the Elders onely, sometimes in our publike Congregation for all comers, many, very many houres, and halfe daies together wee spent

spent therein to see if any means might be prevailed, not gave them free leave, with all liberty and patience, to lay down what they could say for their Opinions, and objected them, from point to point, and then brought cleare arguments from constant Scriptures against them, and put them to answer as even untill they were oftentimes brought to be either silent, or driven to deny common principles, or shuffl off plaine Scripture; and yet (such was their pride and hardnesse of heart that) they would not yield to the truth, but did tell us they would take time to consider of our arguments; and in meane space meeting with some of their abettors, strengthened themselves againe in their old way, that when we dealt with them next time, we found them further off then before, so that our hopes began to languish of reducing them by private means.

3. Then wee had an Assembly of all the Ministers and learned men in the whole Countrey, which held for three weeks together, at Cambridge (then called New-Towne) Mr. Hooker, and Mr. Bulkley (also Buckley) being chosen Moderatoours, or Prolocutors, the Magistrates sitting present all that time, as hearers and speakers also when they saw fit: a liberty also was given to any of the Countrey to come in and heare, (so being appointed in great part, for the satisfaction of the people) and a place was appointed for all the Oppositors to come in, and take liberty of speech, (any day or days before) as much as any of our selves had, and as freely as we did to the contrary of opinions.

The first week we spent in confuting the loose opinions that were gathered up in the Countrey, the summe of which is set downe, pag. 1. &c. The other fortnight wee spent in a plaine Syllogistical dispute, (ad polemica) much as might bee gathered up nine of the chiefest points, (on which the rest depended) and disputed of them all in order, pro & contra in the afternoon, we framed our arguments and in the afternoones produced them in publicke, and next day the Adversary gave in their answers, and produced all their arguments on the same questions, then wee answered them and replied also upon them the next day. These disputes are not mentioned at all in the following Discourse, happily, because of the swelling of the book. God was much present with his Serivants, truth being and yet ground, and the adverse party to be at a stand, but after discourse amongst themselves, still they hardened one another, yet the mark of the Assembly (yet through Gods blessing) gained much on the hearers; that were indifferent, to strengthen them, and on many wavering, to settle them: the error of the opinions and wilfulness of their maintainers, laid stark naked.

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Then after this meane was tryed, and the Magistrates saw that neither our Preaching, Conference, nor yet our Assembly meeting did effect the cure, they abate, both, after conference had together, the Leaders put such life into the rest, that they all went on in their former course, not only to disturb the Churches, but miserably to interrupt the civill Peace, and that they threw contempt both upon Courts, and Churches, and began now to raise sedition amongst us, to the endangering the Common-wealth, Hereupon for these grounds named, (and not for their opinions, as themselves falsely reported, and as our godly Magistrates have been much traduced here in England) for these reasons (I say) being civill disturbances, the Magistrate convents them, (as it plainly appears, pag. 28, 29. of this booke) and censures them, some were disfranchised, others fined, the insurable amongst them banished.

This was another meane of their subduing, some of the leaders being down, and others gone, the rest were weakened, but yet they for all this, strongly held up their heads many a day after.

Then God himselfe was pleased to step in with his casting voice, and being in his own vote and suffrage from heaven by testifying his displeasure against their opinions and practises, as clearly as if hee had pointed with his finger, in causing the two seeming women in the time of the height of the opinions to produce out of their wombs, as before they had out of their braines, such monstrous births as no Chronicle (I sh. nk. hardly ever recorded the like. Mistress Dier brought forth her birth of a woman childe, a fish, a beast, and a fowle, all woven together in one, and without an head, as pag. 44 describes, to which I refer the Reader.

Mistress Hurehilton being big with childe, and growing towards the time of her labour, as other women do, shee brought forth not one, (as Mistress Dier did) but (which was more strange to amazement) thirty monstrous births or thereabouts at once; some of them bigger, some lesser, some of our shape, some of another, few of any perfect shape, none as all of them (as farre as I could ever learn) of humane shape.

These things are so strange, that I am almost loath to bee the reporter of them, lest I should seem to feign a new story, and not to relate an old one, but I have learned otherwise (blessed bee his name) than to delude the world with contraries.

And these things are so well known in New-England, that they have been made use of in publike, by the reverend Teacher of Boston, and testified

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by so many letters to Friends here, that the things are past question.

And see how the wisdom of God fitted this judgement to her sin every way, for look as shee had senced mishappen opinions, so shee must bring forth deformed monsters; and as about thirty opinions in number, so many monsters; and as those were publike, and not in a corner mentioned, so this is now come to bee known and famous over all these Churches, and a great part of the world.

And though shee that runs may read their sin in these judgements; yet, behold the desperate and stupendious hardnesse of heart in these persons and their followers, who were so far from seeing the finger of God in all these dreadfull passages, that they turned all from themselves upon the faithfull servants of God that laboured to reclaim them, saying

This is for you, ye legalists, that your eyes might bee further blinded, by Gods hand upon us, in your legall wayes, and stumble and fall, and in the end break your necks into bell, if yee imbrace not the truth.

Now I am upon Mr. H. Hutchisons Story, I will digresse a little to give you a further taste of her spirit, viz. After she was gone from us to the Island, the Church of Boston sent unto her foure of their members, (men of a lovely and winning spirit, as most likely to prevaile) to see if they could convince and reduce her, according to 2 Thess. 3. 12. When they came first unto her, shee asked from whom they came, and what was their businesse; They answered, Wee are come in the name of the Lord Jesus, from the Church of Christ at Boston, to labour to convince you of Error. — At that word shee being filled with as much disdain in her countenance, as bitterness in her spirit, replied, What, from the Church at Boston? I know no such Church, neither will I name it, call it the Whore and Strumpet of Boston; no Church of Christ: so they said no more, seeing her so desperate, but returned. Behold the spirit of error, to what a passe it drives a man!

This loud-speaking providence from heaven in the monsters, did much awaken many of their followers (especially that tenderer sort) to a true Gods meaning therein; and made them at such a stand, that they dared not sleight so manifest a sign from heaven, that from that time wee found many of their eares boared (as they had good cause) to attend to counsell, but others yet followed them.

8. The last stroke that stee the opinions, was the falling away of their Leaders.

1. Into more hideous and soule-destroying delusions, which ruine (indeed)

all!

The Second

all Religion, as that the sales of war are unlawful like the beasts; and
That there is no such thing as inherent righteousness.

That the power of our souls are reserved to us, and that we are not bound to any law.

That their own revelations of particular events were as infallible as the
Scripture, &c.

2. They also grew (many of them) very loose and degenerate in their pra-
ctises (for these opinions will certainly produce a filthy life by degrees) As no
prayer in their Families, no Sabbath, insupportable pride, frequent and hide-
ous lying, divers of them being proven guilty, some of fire, other of ten
grosser lies; another falling into a lie, God smote him in the very act, that
he sunk down into a deep swoon, and being by hot waters recovered and com-
ing to himself, said, Oh God, thou mightst have struck me dead, as Ana-
nias and Sapphira, for I have maintained a lie. Misses Hutchinson and o-
thers cast out of the Church for lying, and some guilty of fouler sins than all
these, which I here name not.

These things exceedingly angered their followers, (especially such as were
led after them in the simplicity of their hearts, as many were) and now they
began to see that they were deluded by them.

In A great while they did not believe that Misses Hutchinson and some
others did hold such things as they were taxed for, but when themselves
heard her defending her many and cursed opinions in Boston Church,
and there falling into fearful lying, with an impudent fore bold in the
open Assembly, then they believed what before they could not, and were
ashamed before God and men, that ever they were so led aside from the Lord
and his truth, and the goodly Counsell of their faithfull Ministers, by such
an Imposter as she was.

Now no man could lay more upon them, then they would upon themselves,
in their acknowledgment.

Many after this came unto us, who before flew from us, with such de-
sires as those in Act. 2. Men and brethren what shall we do? and
did willingly take shame to themselves in the open Assemblies by con-
fessing (some of them with many teares) how they had given offence
to the Lord and his people, by departing from the truth, and being
led by a spirit of error, their alienation from their brethren in their asse-
tions, and their crooked and perverse walking in contempt of autho-
rity, slighing the Churches, and despising the counsell of their godly
Teachers.

The Preface.

Now they would freely discover the sleights the Adversaries had used to undermine them by, and steal away their eyes from the truth and their brethren, which before (whiles their hearts were steeld) they could not see. And the fruit of this was, great praise to the Lord, who had thus wonderfully wrought matters about, gladness in all our hearts and faces, and expressions of our renewed affections by receiving them againe into our bosomes, and from that time untill now have walked (according to their renewed Covenants) humbly and lovingly amongst us, holding forth Truth and Peace with power.

But for the rest, which (notwithstanding all these meanes of conviction from heaven and earth, and the example of their seduced brethrens returne) yet stood obdurate, yea more hardened (as we had cause to feare) then before, we convented those of them that were members before the Churches, and yet laboured once and againe to convince them, not onely of their errors, but also of sundry exorbitant practises which they had fallen into, as manifest Pride, contempt of authority, neglecting to feare the Church, and lying, &c. but after no meanes prevailed, we were driven with sad hearts to give them up to Satan: Yet not simply for their Opinions (for which I find wee have been scandalously introduced) but the chiefest cause of their censure was their in-scarriages (as have been said) persisted in with great obstinacy.

The persons cast out of the Churches, were about nine or ten, as farre as I can remember; who, for a space, continued very hard and impenitent, but afterward some of them were received into fellowship againe, upon their repentance.

These persons cast out, and the rest of the Ring-leaders that had received sentence of banishment, with many others infected by them, that were neither censured in Court, nor in Churches, went all together out of our jurisdiction and precinct into an Island, called Read-Island, (surnamed by some, the Island of Errors) and there they live to this day, most of them, but in great strife and contentiō in the civill estate, and otherwise, hatching and multiplying new Opinions, and cannot agree, but are miserably divided into sundry sects and factions.

But Mistress Hutchinson being weary of the Island, or rather, the Island weary of her, departed from thence with all her family, her daughter, and her children, to live under the Dutch, neare a place

The Preface.

called by Sea-men, and in the Map, Hell-gate. (And now I am come to the last act of her Tragedy, a most heavy stroake upon her selfe and hers, as I received it very lately from a godly hand in New-England) There the Indians set upon them, and slew her, and all her family, her daughter, and her daughters husband, and all their children, save one that escaped; (her owne husband being dead before) a dreadful blow. Some write that the Indians did burne her to death with fire, her house and all the rest named that belonged to her; but I am not able to affirm by what kind of death they slew her, but staine it seemes shée is, according to all reports. I never heard that the Indians in those parts did ever before this, commit the like outrage upon any one family, or families; and therefore Gods hand is the more apparently seen herein, to pick out this wofull woman, to make her, and those belonging to her, an unheard of heavy example, of their cruelty above others.

Thus the Lord heard our groans to heaven, & freed us from this great and sore affliction, which first was small, like Elias cloud; but after spread the heavens; and hath (through great mercy) given the Churches rest from this disturbance ever since; that wee know none that lifts up his head to disturbe our sweet peace, in any of the Churches of Christ among us; blessed for ever bee his Name.

I bow my knees to the God of truth and peace, to grant these Churches as full a riddance from the same, or like Opinions, which doe destroy his truth, and disturbe their peace.


A POSTSCRIPT.

I thinke it fit to adde a comfortable passage of newes from those parts written to me very lately by a faithfull hand, which as it affected mine owne heart, so it may doe many others, viz. That two Sagamores; (or Indian Princes) with all their men, women, and children, have voluntarily submitted themselves to the will and law of our God, with expressed desires to be taught the same; and have for that end, put themselves under our government and protection, even in the same manner, as any of the English are: which morning-peep of mercy to them (saith he) is a great meane to awaken the spirit of prayer and faith for them in all the Churches.

T. WILDER.

A Catalogue of such erroneous Opinions as were
found to have beene brought into *New-England*, and
spread under-hand there, as they were condemned by an
Assembly of the Churches, at *New Town*, Aug. 30. 1637.

The Errors.

- I.  N the conversion of a sinner, which is saving and gracious, the faculties of the soule, and workings thereof, in things pertaining to God, are destroyed and made to cease.

The Confutation.

1. This is contrary to the Scripture, which speaketh of the faculties of the soule, (as the understanding and the will) not as destroyed in conversion, but as changed, *Luke 24. 45.* Christ is said to have opened their understandings: *Job. 21. 18.* *Peter* is said to be led whither he would not, therefore he had a will. Again, to destroy the faculties of the soule, is to destroy the immortality of the soule.

Error 2. In stead of them, the Holy Ghost doth come and take place, and doth all the works of those natures, as the faculties of the human nature of Christ do.

Confutation 3. This is contrary to Scripture, which speaketh of God, as sanctifying our soules and spirits, *1 Thess. 5. 23.* purging our consciences, *Heb. 9. 14* refreshing our memories, *Job. 14. 26.*

Error 3. That the love which is said to remaine, when faith and hope cease, is the Holy Ghost.

Confutation 3. This is contrary to the Scriptures, which put an expresse difference between the Holy Ghost, and love, *2 Cor. 6. 6.* And if our love were the Holy Ghost, we cannot be said to love God at all; or if wee did, it was, because we were personally united to the Holy Ghost.

Error 4. 5. That those that bee in Christ, are not under the Law, and commands of the word, as the rule of life. *Alia*, that the will of God in the Word, or directions thereof, are not the rule whereunto Christians are bound to conform themselves, to live thereafter.

Confutation 4, 5. This is contrary to the Scriptures, which direct us to the Law, and to the testimony, *Esa. 8. 20.* which also speaks of Christians, as not being without Law to God, but under the Law to Christ, *1 Cor. 9. 22.*

Error 6. The example of Christs life, is not a patterne according to which men ought to act.

Confutation 6. This position (those actions of Christ excepted which he did as God, or as Mediator, God and Man, or on speciall occasions, which concern not us) is unsound, being contrary to the Scripture, wherein the example of Christs life is propounded to Christians, as a patterne of imitation, both by Christ and his Apostles, *Mat. 11. 29.* Learne of mee, for I am meeke, &c. *1 Cor. 11. 1.* Be ye followers of me, as I am of Christ, *Ephes. 5. 2.* Walke in love, as Christ hath loved us, *1 Pet. 2. 21.* Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that yee should follow his steps, *1 Job. 2. 26.* He that saith he abideth in him, ought so to walke, even as he hath walked.

Error 7. The new creature, or the new man mentioned in the Gospel, is not meant of grace, but of Christ.

Confutation 7. The false-hood of this proposition appeareth from the Scriptures, which first propound Christ and the new creature, as distinct one from another, *2 Cor. 5. 17.* If any man be in Christ, hee is a new creature. Secondly, The new man is opposed to the old man, the old man is meant of lusts and vices, and not of *Adams* person, *Ephes. 2. 23. 24.* Therefore the new man is meant of graces and vertues, and not of the person of Christ, *Col. 3. 9, 10.* Thirdly, the new man is expressly said to consist in righteousness and true holiness, *Ephes. 4. 25.* and to bee renewed in knowledge, *Col. 3. 10.* which are graces, and not Christ.

Error 8. By love, *1 Corinth. 13. 13.* and by the armour mentioned, *Ephes. 6.* are meant Christ.

Confutation 8. This position is neere of kin to the former; but, secondly, the opposite, *1 Cor. 13.* meaneth that love which hee exhorteth Christians to beare one towards another, which if it were meant of Christ, he might bee said to exhort them to beare Christ one to another, as well as to love one another. 2. Faith and hope there mentioned, have Christ for their object; and if by love be meant Christ, he had put no more in the latter word, then in the two former. 3. And besides, it may as well be said, Faith in love, as Faith in Christ, and hope in love, as hope in Christ, if that were the meaning. And by armour, *Ephes. 6.* cannot bee meant Christ. First, because two parts of that armour are Faith and Hope, whereof the Scriptures make Christ the object: *Col. 1. 5.* Beholding the stedfastness of your faith in Christ, *1 Cor. 15. 19.* If in this life onely wee had hope in Christ, &c. now these graces, and the object of them cannot be the same. Secondly, a person armed with that armour, may be said to be a sincere righteous patient Christian, but if by the armour be meant Christ, sweet predication should have been destroyed, and you might more properly say, a Christified Christian.

Error 9. The whole letter of the Scripture holds for a covenant of workes.

Confutation 9: This position is unsound, and contrary to the constant tenor of the Gospel; a maine part of the Scriptures which in the letter thereof holds not forth a covenant of workes, but of grace, as appeareth, *Job. 3. 16. 1 Tim. 1. 15. Mat. 11. 28. Heb. 8. 10, 11, 12.*

Error

Error 10. That God the Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost, may give themselves to the soule, and the soule may have true union with Christ, true remission of sins, true marriage and fellowship, true sanctification from the blood of Christ, and yet be an hypocrite.

Confutation 10. The word [true] being taken in the sense of the Scriptures, this also crosseth the doctrine of *Ephes. 4. 24.* where righteousness and true holiness are made proper to him, that hath heard & learned the truth, as it is in Jesus.

Error 11. As Christ was once made flesh, so hee is now first made flesh in us, ere we be carried to perfection.

Confutation 11. Christ was once made flesh, *Joh. 1. 14.* noother incarnation is recorded, and therefore not to be beleaved.

Error 12. Now in the covenant of worker, a legalist may attaine the same righteousness for truth, which *Adam* had in innocency before the fall.

Confutation 12. He that can attaine *Adams* righteousness in sincerity, hath his sinne truly mortified, but that no legalist can have, because true mortification is wrought by the Covenant of grace, *Rom. 6. 14.* Sin shall not have dominion over you, for you are not under the law, but under grace.

Error 13. That there is a new birth under the Covenant of workes, to such a kind of righteousness, as before is mentioned, from which the soule must be againe converted, before it can bee made partaker of Gods kingdom.

Confutation 13. This is contrary to *Tit. 3. 4.* where the new birth is made a fruit of Gods love towards man in Christ, of any new birth besides this, the Scripture speaketh not. It is also contrary to *2 Cor. 3.* where it is made the work of the Spirit, (that is, the Gospel) opposed to the letter (that is, to the Law) to give life; the new birth brings forth the new creature, and the new creature argueth our being in Christ, *2 Cor. 5. 17.* It is true indeed, Gods children that are borne againe, must be converted againe, as *Mat. 18. 3.* but that conversion is not from that grace which they have received, but from the corruption that still remains.

Error 14. That Christ workes in the regenerate, as in those that are dead, and not as in those that are alive, or the regenerate after conversion, are altogether dead to spirituall acts.

Confutation 14. This is contrary to *Rom. 6. 11.* Yee are alive unto God, in Jesus Christ, *Ephes. 2. 1. 5.* Hee hath quickened us, *1 Pet. 2. 5.* Living stones, *Gal. 2. 20.* The life that I now live.

Error 15. There is no inherent righteousness in the Saints, or grace, and graces are not in the soules of beleivers, but in Christ onely.

Confutation 15. This is contrary to *2 Tim. 1. 5.* The unfained faith that dwelt in thee, and dwelt first in thy Grandmother, *2 Pet. 1. 4.* Partakers of the divine nature; which cannot bee, but by inherent righteousness, *2 Tim. 1. 6.* Stirre up the grace of God which is in thee, *John 1. 16.* Of his fulnesse wee all receive grace for grace; but if there bee no grace in

us, wee receive nothing from his fulnesse, 2 Cor. 4. 16. Our inward man is renewed day by day. Rom. 12. 2. with Ephes. 4. 24. wee are changed or renewed.

Error 16. There is no difference between the graces of hypocrites and beleevers, in the kinds of them.

Confutation 16. If this bee true, then hypocrites are wise, humble, mercifull, pure, &c. and so shall see God, Mat. 5. 8. but they are called fooles, Mat. 7. 26. Mat. 25. 1, 2, 3. neither shall they see God, Mat. 24. 51. Mat. 13. 20, 21, 22, 23. Heb. 6. 7, 8, 9. the difference of the grounds, argueth the difference in the kinds of graces.

Error 17. True poverty of spirit, doth kill and take away the sight of grace.

Confutation 17. This is contrary to Marke 9. 24. Lord, I beleeve, help my unbelief: if this were so, then poverty of spirit should hinder thankfulness, and so one grace should hinder another, and the graces of the Spirit should hinder the work of the Spirit, and crosse the end why hee is given to us, 1 Cor. 2. 13.

Error 18. The Spirit doth worke in Hypocrites, by gifts and graces, but in Gods children immediately.

Confutation 18. This is contrary to Nehem. 5. 15. So did I because of the feare of the Lord: Heb. 11. 17. Noah moved with feare, prepared an Arke.

Error 19. That all graces, even in the truly regenerate, are mortall and fading.

Confutation 19. This is contrary to Job. 4. 14. they are graces which flow from a fontaine which springeth up to eternall life; and therefore not fading Jer. 31. 39, 40.

Error 20. That to call into question, whether God be my deare Father, after or upon the commission of some hainous sinnes, (as Murder, Incest, &c.) doth prove a man to bee in the Covenant of workes.

Confutation 20. It being supposed that the doubting here spoken of, is not that of small despaire, or the like; but onely that the position denieth a possibility of all doubting to a man under a Covenant of grace, this is contrary to Scripture, which speaketh of Gods people under a Covenant of grace, in these or other cases, exercised with sweet doubtings and questions: David was a justified man, (for his sinnes were pardoned, 2 Sam. 12. 12, 13.) yet his bones waxed old, through his roaring all the day long, and the heaviness of Gods hand was upon him night and day, and the turning of his moisture into the drought of Summer, Psal. 32. 3, 4. and Gods breaking his bones by withholding from him the joy of his salvation; Psal. 51. 8. shew that he was exercised with sweet doubts, and questions at least, as this position speaketh of, and the like may be gathered out of Psal. 77. 3, 4. where the holy man Asaph, mentioneth himselfe, being troubled when hee remembered God; and that hee was so troubled, hee could not speake nor sleepe, and expostulateth with God; Will the Lord cast off for ever? and will hee be favourable no more? And ver. 6, 7, 8, 9.

These

These shew that he had at least sweet doubts, as the position mentioneth, and yet he was not thereby proved to be under a Covenant of workes, for he doth afterward confesse this to bee his infirmity, *vers.* 10. and receiveth the comfort of former experiences, in former dayes, and his songs in the nights, and of Gods former workes, *vers.* 5, 6, 10, 11, 12. and hee resumeth his claime of his right in God by vertue of his Covenant, *vers.* 13.

Error 21. To be justified by faith, is to be justified by workes.

Confutation 21. If faith, in this position be considered not simply as a worke, but in relation to its object, this is contrary to the Scripture, that so appropriateth Justification to faith, as it denieth it to workes, setting faith and workes in opposition one against another in the point of Justification, as *Rom.* 3. 27. Where is boasting then? It is excluded. By what Law? by the Law of workes? No, but by the Law of faith, and *ver.* 28. We conclude, that a man is justified by faith, without the workes of the Law, and *chap.* 4. 16. Therefore it is by faith, that it may be by grace, compared with *vers.* 4. To him that worketh is the reward reckoned not of grace, but of debt.

Error 22. None are to be exhorted to beleeve, but such whom we know to be the elect of God, or to have his Spirit in them effectually.

Confutation 22. This is contrary to the Scriptures, which maketh the commission which Christ gave his Disciples, in these words, Go preach the Gospel to every creature; he that beleeveth and is baptized shall be saved, *Mark.* 16. 15, 16. where the latter words imply an exhortation to beleeve, and the former words direct, that this should not onely be spoken to men knowne to be elected, or onely to men effectually called, but to every creature; The Scripture also telleth us, that the Apostles, in all places, called upon men to repent and beleeve the Gospel, which they might not have done, had this position been true.

Error 23. We must not pray for gifts and graces, but onely for Christ.

Confutation 23. This is contrary to Scripture which teacheth us to pray for wisdom, *Jam.* 1. 5. and for every grace bestowed by vertue of the new Covenant *Ezech.* 36. 37. as acknowledging every good gift, and every perfect giving is from above, and cometh downe from the Father of lights. The whole 119. Psalm, besides Innumerable texts of Scripture, doth abundantly confute this by shewing that the servants of God have bene taught by the spirit of God to pray for every gift and grace needfull for them, and not onely for Christ.

Error 24. He that hath the seale of the Spirit, may certainly judge of any person, whether he be elected or no.

Confutation 24. This is contrary to *Deut.* 29. 29. Secret things belong to God, and such is election of men not yet called,

Error 25. A man may have all graces and poverty of spirit, and yet want Christ.

Confutation 25. This is contrary to *Matth.* 5. 3. Blessed are the poore in spirit: but without Christ none can be blessed, *Ephes.* 4. 22, 24. hee that hath righteousness and true holiness, hath learned the truth, as it is in Jesus, and therefore hath Christ.

Error

Error 26. The faith that justifieth us is in Christ, and never had any actual being out of Christ.

Confutation 26. This is contrary to Scripture, *Luk. 17. 5.* Lord encrease our faith, *Ergo*, faith was in them, *2 Tim. 1. 6.* faith is said to dwell in such and such persons, therefore faith was in them, *Esa. 64. 7.* No man stirres up himself to lay hold upon thee.

Error 27. It is incompatible to the Covenant of grace, to joyn faith thereunto.

Confutation 27. This is contrary to *Mark 16. 16.* Preach the Gospel, He that beleeveeth shall be saved, *Rom. 4. 3.* Abraham beleeveth, and it was accounted to him for righteousness, and Abraham is a patterne to all under the Covenant of grace *Rom. 4. 14.*

Error 28. To affirme there must be faith on mans part to receive the Covenant, is to undermine Christ.

Confutation 28. First, Faith is required on mans part to receive the Covenant of grace, according to these Scriptures, *Joh. 1. 12.* To as many as received him, even to them that beleeveth on his name, *Marke 16. 16.* He that beleeveeth shall be saved. Secondly, to affirme there must be faith on mans part to receive Christ, is not to undermine Christ, but to exalt him, according to these Scriptures, *Joh. 3. 33.* Hee that beleeveeth, hath put to his sale that God is true, and so honours Gods truth, which cannot undermine Christ, *Rom. 4. 20.* but was strong in the faith, giving glory to God, &c.

Error 29. An hypocrite may have these two witnesses, *1 Joh. 5. 5.* that is to say, the water and blood.

Confutation 29. No hypocrite can have these two witnesses, water and blood, that is, true justification and sanctification; for then he should be saved, according to these Scriptures, *Rom. 8. 30.* *2 Thess. 2. 13.* *Acts 26. 18.*

Error 30. If any thing may be concluded from the water and blood, it is rather damnation, then salvation.

Confutation 30. This is contrary to the Scripture last mentioned.

Error 31. Such as see any grace of God in themselves, before they have the assurance of Gods love sealed to them, are not to bee received members of Churches.

Confutation 31. This is contrary to *Act. 8. 37. 38.* where the Eunuch saw his faith only, and yet was presently baptized; and therefore by the same ground might be admitted.

Error 32. After the revelation of the Spirit, neither Devill nor sin can make the soule to doubt.

Confutation 32. This position favours of error, else *Adam* had not the revelation of the Spirit, seeing he doubted, (*Psal. 73. 13.*) whether hee had not cleansed his heart in vaine, and that God had forgotten to be gracious; then also faith should be perfect which was never found, no not in our father Abraham.

Error 33. To act by vertue of, or in obedience to a command is legall.

Confuta-

Confutation 33. So is it also Evangelicall, the mystery of the Gospel is said to be revealed for the obedience of faith, *Rom. 16. 25.* Also the Lord Jesus is said to be the author of salvation to all that obey him, *Heb. 5. 9.* If we love Christ, we are to keep his commandments, *Job. 14. 29.*

Error 34. We are not to pray against all sin, because the old man is in us, and must be, and why should we pray against that which cannot be avoided?

Confutation 34. This is contrary to *1 Thess. 5. 23.* *1 Cor. 13. 7.*

Error 35. The efficacy of Christs death is to kill all activity of graces in his members, that he might avert all in all.

Confutation 35. This is contrary to *Rom. 6. 4.* Our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sinne might be destroyed, that wee should not serve sinne: contrary also to *Heb. 4. 14.* that he might through death destroy him, *2nd* and *1 Job. 3. 8.* whence we inferre, that if Christ came to destroy the body of sin, to destroy the Devill, to dissolve the workes of the Devill, then not to kill his owne graces, which are the workes of his own spirit.

Error 36. All the activity of a beleever, is to abstain from sinne.

Confutation 36. Contrary to *Rom. 7. 15.* as also to *Gal. 5. 17.* the spirit lusteth against the flesh.

Error 37. We are completely united to Christ, before, or without any faith wrought in us by the Spirit.

Confutation 37. The terme [united] being understood of that spirituall relation of men unto Christ, whereby they come to have life and right to all other blessings in Christ, *1 Job. 5. 12.* Hee that hath the Son hath life: And the terme [completely] implying a presence of all those bands and ligaments and meanes, as are required in the word, or are any wayes necessary to the making up of the union, wee now conceive this assertion to be erroneous, contrary to Scripture, that either expressly mentioneth faith when it speaketh of this union, *Ephes. 3. 17.* that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith, *Gal. 2. 20.* Christ liveth in me by faith; or ever implyeth it in those phrases that doe expresse union, as coming to Christ, *Job. 6. 35.* and eating and drinking Christ, *vers. 47.* compared with *ver. 54.* having the Son, *1 Job. 5. 12.* and receiving Christ, *Job. 1. 12.* and marriage unto Christ, *Ephes. 5. 32.* If there bee no dwelling of Christ in us, no coming to him, no receiving him, no eating nor drinking him, no being married to him before and without faith, but the former is true, therefore also the latter.

Error 38. There can be no true closing with Christ in a promise that hath a qualification or condition expressed.

Confutation 38. This opinion we conceive erroneous, contrary to *Eph. 35. 1.* *1.* Ho! every one that thirsteth come yee to the waters, *Mark. 11. 28.* Come to me all yee that are weary and heavy laden, *John 7. 37.* If any man thirst, let him come to mee and drinke, *Revel. 22. 17.* Let him that is athirst come, *Mark. 1. 15.* Repent and beleve the Gospel: if the word indefinitely be sanctified, for

the begetting of faith, if the Gospell it selfe bee laid downe in a certtitionall promise, if the Apostles and Prophets, and Christ himselfe, have laid hold upon such promises to help to union; and closing with himselfe, then there may bee a true closing with Christ in a promise that hath a qualification or condition expressed.

Error 39. The due search and knowledge of the holy Scripture, is not a safe and sure way of searching and finding Christ.

Confutation 39. This is contrary to expresse words of Scripture, *Joh. 5. 39.* Search the Scriptures, for they testifie of mee, *Ad. 10. 43.* To him give all the Prophets witnesse, *Rom. 3. 21.* the righteousness of God witnessed by the Law and the Prophets, *Eph. 8. 20.* To the Law and to the Testimony, *Ad. 17. 11.* The *Bereans* were more noble, in that they searched the Scriptures daily. If the Prophets give witnesse to Christ, if his righteousness be witnessed by Law and Prophets, and that they bee noble that dally search the Scriptures, and that Christ so farre alloweth their testimony of him, that the Scripture saith, there is no light, but in and according to them, then the due searching and knowledge of Scriptures, is a safe way to search Christ; but the former is true, therefore also the latter.

Error 40. There is a testimony of the Spirit and voice unto the Soule, meerly immediate, without any respect unto, or concurrence with the word.

Confutation 40. This immediate revelation without concurrence with the word, doth not onely countenance but confirme that opinion of *Enthusiasmus*; justly refused by all the Churches, as being contrary to the perfection of the Scriptures, and perfection of Gods wisdom therein: That which is not revealed in the Scripture, (which is *objectum adequatum fidei*) is not to bee believed: but that there is any such revelation, without concurrence with the word, is no where revealed in the Scripture, *1 Cor. 4. 16.* Presume not above that which is written. Againe, if there be any immediate Revelation without concurrence of the word, then it cannot bee tryed by the word, but we are bid to try the Spirits. To the law and Testimony, *Eph. 8. 20.* to try all things, *1 Thess. 5. 21.* So the *Bereans*, *Ad. 17. 11.* and the rule of tryall is the word, *Joh. 1. 30.*

Error 41. There bee distinct seasons of the workings of the severall persons, so the soule may bee said to bee so long under the Fathers, and not the Sons, and so long under the Sons worke, and not the Spirits.

Confutation 41. This expression is not according to the patterne of wholsome words, which teacheth a joynt concurrence of all the persons, working in every work that is wrought, so that we cannot say, the Father works so long, and the Son works not, because the same work at the same time is common to them both, and to all the three Persons, as the Father drawes, *Joh. 6. 44.* so the Son sends his Spirit to convince, and thereby draws, *Joh. 16. 7, 8.*

Error 42. There is no assurance true or right, unless it be without feare and doubting.

Confutation 42. This is contrary to Scripture, the Penman of *Psal. 77.* had true assurance, *ver. 8.* and yet he had doubts and feares of Gods eternall mercy, *ver. 7, 8, 9.* The best faith is imperfect and admits infirmity, *ver. 10.* *1 Cor. 13. 10, 11, 12.* Where there is flesh that doth fight against every grace, and act thereof, and is contrary to it, there can be no grace perfect, *Ergo,* doubting may stand with assurance, *Gal. 5. 17.*

Error 43. The Spirit acts most in the Saints, when they endeavour least.

Confutation 43. Reserving the speciall seasons of Gods preventing grace to his owne pleasure, In the ordinary constant course of his dispensation, the more we endeavour, the more assistance and help wee find from him, *Prov. 2. 3, 4, 5.* He that seeks and digs for wisdom as for treasure shall find it, *Hos. 6. 3.* *2 Chron. 15. 2.* The Lord is with you, while you are with him, If by endeavour be meant the use of lawfull meanes and ordinances commanded by God to seeke and find him in, then is it contrary to *Mat. 7. 7.* Aske, seeke, knock, &c.

Error 44. No created worke can be a manifest signe of Gods love.

Confutation 44. If created workes flowing from union with Christ bee included, it is against *Johns* Epistles, and many Scriptures, which make keeping the Commandements, love to the Brethren, &c. evidences of a good estate, so consequently of Gods love.

Error 45. Nothing but Christ is an evidence of my good estate.

Confutation 45. If here Christ manifesting himselfe in workes of holiness, be excluded; and nothing but Christ nakedly revealing himselfe to faith, bee made an evidence, it is against the former Scriptures.

Error 46. It is no sinne in a beleever not to see his grace, except he be wilfully blind.

Confutation 46. This is contrary to the Scripture, which makes every transgression of the law sinne, though willfullnesse bee not annexed; and this crosseth the worke of the Spirit which sheweth us the things that are given us of God; *1 Cor. 2. 12.* and crosseth also that command, *2 Cor. 13. 5.* Prove your faith, and therefore we ought to see it.

Error 47. The seale of the Spirit is limited onely to the immediate witness of the Spirit, and doth never witness to any worke of grace, or to any conclusion by a Syllogisme.

Confutation 47. This is contrary to *Rom. 8. 16.* to that which our Spirit bears witness, to that the Spirit of God beares witness, for they beare a joynt witness; as the words will have it; but our spirits beare witness to a worke of grace; namely, that beleivers are the children of God, *Ergo.*

Error 48. That conditionall promises are legall.

Confutation 48. Contrary to *Job. 3. 16.* *Mat. 5. 3. &c.*

Error 49. We are not bound to keepe a constant course of Prayer in our Families, or privately, unlesse the Spirit stirre us up thereunto.

Confutation 49. This is contrary to *Ephes. 6. 18.* *1 Thess. 5. 17.*

Error 50. It is poverty of spirit, when we have grace, yet to see we have no grace in our selves.

Confutation 50. The weak beleever, *Mark. 9. 24.* was poore in spirit, yet saw his owne faith weak though it were. *Peter* when he was brought to poverty of spirit by the bitter experience of his pride, hee saw the true love hee had unto Christ, and appealed to him therein, *Job. 23. 15.* *Paul* was lesse then the least of all Saintes in his own eyes, therefore poore in spirit, yet saw the grace of God, by which he was that he was, and did what he did, and was truly nothing in his own eyes, when he had spoken of the best things he had received and done, *Ephes. 3. 18.* If it bee poverty of the spirit to see no grace in our selves, then should poverty of spirit crosse the office of the Spirit, which is to reveale unto us, and make us to see what God gives us, *1 Cor. 2. 9, 10, 11, 12.* then it should make us sinne, or crosse the will of God, which is, that we should not bee ignorant of the gracious workings of Christ in us from the power of his death and resurrection, *Rom. 6. 3.* Know ye not, &c. then would it destroy a great duty of Christian thankfulness, in, and for all the good things which God vouchsafeth us, *1 Thess. 5. 18.*

Error 51. The soule need not to goe out to Christ for fresh supply, but it is acted by the spirit inhabiting.

Confutation 51. Though we have the spirit acting and inhabiting us, this hinders not, but I may and need goe out to Christ for fresh supply of Grace, *John. 1. 16.* of whose fulnesse we have all received, and grace for grace, *2 Cor. 12. 8.* *Paul* sought thrice to Christ for fresh supply, *Heb. 12. 2.* Looke unto Christ the Author and finisher of our faith.

We must looke up to the hills from whence cometh our help, *Ephes. 4. 16.* by whom all the body receiveth increase, and to the edifying of itself.

Error 52. It is legal to say, we are in the strength of Christ.

Confutation 52. This is contrary to the Scriptures, the Gospel bids us be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might, *Ephes. 6. 10.* and be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus, *2 Tim. 2. 1.* and *Paul* saith, I can do all things through Christ that strengtheneth me, *Phil. 4. 13.* and that was not legall strength.

Error 53. No Minister can teach one that is anointed by the Spirit of Christ, more then hee knows already, unlesse it bee in some circumstances.

Confutation 53. This is also contrary to Scripture, *2 Cor. 1.* It is God that stablisheth us with you, &c. *Ephes. 1. 13.* and *4. 12. 14.* The *Corinthians* and *Ephesians* were anointed and sealed, & yet were taught more of *Paul* in his Epistles then onely in some circumstances.

Error 54. No Minister can be an instrument to convey more of Christ unto another, then he by his own experience hath come unto.

Confutation 54. This is contrary to *Ephes. 4. 11, 12.* the weakest Minister may edifie the strongest christian which hath more experience then himself.

Error 55. A man may have true Faith of dependance, and yet not be justified.

Confutation

Confutation 55. This is contrary to the Scripture, *Act. 13. 39.* 'All believers are justified, but they that have true faith of dependance are believers, therefore justified.

Error 56. A man is not effectually converted, till hee hath full assurance.

Confutation 56. This is crosse to the Scripture, *Esa. 5. 10.* wherein we see that a man may truly feare God (therefore truly converted) and yet walke in darknesse, without cleare evidence, or full assurance.

Error 57. To take delight in the holy service of God, is to goe a whoring from God.

Confutation 57. No Scripture commands us to goe a whoring from God, but first, the Scripture commands us to delight in the service of God, *Psal. 100. 2.* Serve the Lord with gladnesse, *Esa. 58. 13.* Thou shalt call the Sabbath thy delight, *Ergo.* Secondly, God loves not such as goe a whoring from him, *Psal. 73. ult.* but God loves a cheerfull server of God, *2 Cor. 8.* Therefore such as serve him cheerefully, doe not thereby goe a whoring from him.

Error 58. To help my faith, and comfort my conscience in evill houres, from former experience of Gods grace in me, is not a way of grace.

Confutation 58. What the Saints have done and found true comfort in, that is a way of grace, but they did help their faith, and comfort their conscience from former evidences of Gods grace in them, *Psal. 77. 5. 6. 11.* I considered the daies of old, and called to remembrance my songs in the night, and by this raised hee up his faith, as the latter part of this *Psalme* sheweth, and this was in evill houres, *1er. 2. 3. 2 Cor. 1. 12.* This is our rejoicing, that in simplicity and godly purenesse, we have had our conversation, and this was in sad houres, *1er. 4. 5. 8. 9. 10. Job. 35. 10.* None saith, Where is God that made me, which giveth songs in the night? here the not attending to former consolation, is counted a sinfull neglect.

Error 59. A man may not be exhorted to any duty, because he hath no power to doe it.

Confutation 59. This is contrary to *Phil. 2. 12. 13.* Work out your salvation, &c. For it is God that worketh in you both the will and the deed, *Ephes. 5. 14.* Awake thou that sleepest, so *1 Cor. 15. ult.*

Error 60. A man may not prove his election by his vocation, but his vocation by his election.

Confutation 60. This is contrary to *1 Thess. 2. 4.* knowing your election, because our Gospel came unto you, not in word only, but in power, *2 Thess. 1. 13. 14.* God hath elected you to life, through sanctification of the Spirit, whereunto hee hath called you by our Gospel.

Error 61. All Doctrines, Revelations and Spirits, must be tried by Christ the Word, rather then by the Word of Christ.

Confutation 61. This assertion of it extends to exclude the word, we conceive it contrary to *Esa. 8. 20. John 5. 39. Acts 17. 11.* also to *2 John 4. 1. 2.* Try the spirits, every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, &c.

where Spirits and Doctines confessing that Christ is come in the flesh, are made distinct from Christ.

Error 62. It is a dangerous thing to close with Christ in a promise.

Confutation 62. This is contrary to *Job. 3. 16. Ait. 10. 43. Esa. 55. 1, 2. Mat. 11. 28. Job. 7. 37.* If Christ in these places invite men to come unto him, and bids them incline and hearken, and tells them their Soules shall live, and they shall drinke and bee refreshed by him, and by these promises encourageth them to close with him, then it is no dangerous thing to close with him in a promise, it is no danger to obey a command of God: but we are commanded to beleve the Gospel, *Marke 1. 15.* the promise being a part of the Gospel.

Error 63. No better is the evidence from the two witnesses of water and blood, mentioned *1 Job. 5. 6, 7, 8.* then mount *Calvary*, and the Souldiers that shed Christs blood, and these might have drunke of it; poore evidences.

Confutation 63. Then what God hath ordained or made an evidence, is no better then what hee hath not made, then Christ loseth his end in comming by water and blood, *vers. 6.* then the Spirit should agree no better with the witness of water and blood, then it doth with Mount *Calvary*, and the Souldiers: but the Spirit doth agree with the water and the blood, and not with the other, *1 Job. 5. 7.* These three agree in one.

Error 64. A man must take no notice of his sin, nor of his repentance for his sinne.

Confutation 64. This is contrary to *David*, whose sinnes was ever before him, *Psal. 51.* he considered his wayes (and the evill of them) that hee might turne his feet to Gods Testimonies, *Psal. 119. 59.* If wee confesse our sins, hee is faithfull and just, &c. If we say we have not sinned wee make him a lyar, *1 John 1. 8, 9, 10.* *Job* tooke notice of sinne and of his repentance, I abhorre my selfe and repent in dust and ashes, *Job. 42. 6.* *David* seeth, and saith, I am sorry for my sinnes, *Psal. 38. 38.* *Solomons* penitent must know the Plague in his heart, that is, his sin and the punishment thereof, *1 Kings 8. 38.*

Error 65. The Church in admitting members, is not to looke to holinesse of life, or testimony of the same.

Confutation 65. This is contrary to *Rom. 1. 7.* and the inscriptions of divers Epistles, being directed to Saints, and Saints by calling; and *1 Cor. 14. 33.* Churches of the Saints, *Ait. 2.* the members there were said to repent before they were admitted; and *1 Cor. 5.* the incestuous person should not then have been cast out for want of holinesse and *Paul* could not be received into communion without testimony, *Ait. 9. 26.*

Error 66. To lay the brethren under a Covenant of workes, hurts not, but tends to much good to make men looke the better to their evidences.

Confutation 66. If that bee done ungroundedly, it is contrary to *Esa. 5. 20.* where woe is pronounced to such as call good evill, &c. and *Ezek. 13. 32.* that make

make such hearts sad, as the Lord would not have sadden; and it is against the rule of the Covenant, 1 Cor. 13. besides, it may trench upon the devils office, in accusing the Brethren, and then it will bee good to tell untruth, good to breake house and Church Communion, then good to break nearest relations, then good to bite one another, and good to offend the little ones, *Mat. 18.*

Error 67. A man cannot evidence his justification by his sanctification, but he must needs build upon his sanctification, and trust to it.

Confutation 67. First, this is contrary to 1 *John* 3. 18, 19. where the Holy Ghost saith; that by unfeigned and hearty love wee may have assurance, and yet neither there, nor any where else, would have us trust to our sanctification, *10 vers. 7.* He that doth righteousness is righteous, as he is righteous. Secondly, if poverty of spirit, which emptieth us of all confidence in our selves, may evidence a mans justification, without trusting to it, then may sanctification without trusting to it; but the former is true, therefore also the latter. Thirdly, if it be an ordinance of God to evidence our justification by our sanctification, then wee may doe this without trusting to it; but that is apparent from 2 *Pet.* 1. 10. *Ergo.*

Error 68. Faith justifies an unbeliever, that is, that faith that is in Christ justifieth me that have no faith in my self.

Confutation 68. This is contrary to *Hab.* 2. 4. For if the just shall live by his faith, then that faith that justifies, is not in Christ. So *John* 3. *ult.* Hee that believeth not, the wrath of God abideth on him: It is not anothers faith will save me.

Error 69. Though a man can prove a gracious worke in himself; and Christ to be the author of it, if thereby he will prove Christ to bee his, this is but a sandy foundation.

Confutation 69. This is contrary to these Scriptures, *John* 14. 21. and 28. Hee that keepeth my commandements, is he that loveth mee, and he that loveth mee, shall bee loved of my Father; and I will love him, and will shew my selfe unto him, 1 *John* 3. 14. We know that we have passed from death to life, because we love the brethren, and 1 *John* 5. 12. He that hath the Son hath life: therefore he that can prove that he hath spirituall life, may assure himselfe that hee hath Christ.

Error 70. Frequency, or length of holy duties, or trouble of Conscience for neglect thereof, are all signes of one under a covenant of workes.

Confutation 70. This is contrary to these Scriptures, 1 Cor. 15. 58. Bee abundant alwayes in the worke of the Lord: if the faithfull in Christ Jesus be commanded to abound alwayes in the worke of the Lord, that is, holy duties, then frequency in holy duties, is no signe of one under a Covenant of workes: but the former is true, therefore also the latter; as also 1 *Thess.* 4. 17, 18. *Psal.* 55. 17. Evening and morning, and noone will I pray and make a noise, and hee will heare mee; and elswhere, Seven times a day doe I praise thee, *Psal.* 119. 146. *Psal.* 1. 2. So also contrary is the third branch to these Scriptures, 2 Cor. 7. 8.

22. the Corinthians were troubled in conscience, and sorrowed that they had neglected the holy duties of Church censure towards the incestuous person, and *Esa. 64. 7.* and *2. Cor. 5. 2.* *Rom. 7. 19.* I do not the good I would, which hee lamenteth and complaineth of.

Error 71. The immediate revelation of my good estate, without any respect to the Scriptures, is as cleare to me, as the voice of God from heaven to *Paul*.

Confutation 71. This is contrary to *John 14. 26.* He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, &c. whence we reason thus. If the Spirit reveale nothing without concurrence of the Word, then this revelation of the Spirit, without respect to the Word, is not cleare, nor to be trusted: but the Spirit doth reveale nothing, but with respect to the Word, for *John 14. 26.* If the office of the Spirit bee to teach, and to bring to remembrance the things that Christ hath taught us, *Esa. 8. 20.* what ever spirit speaks not according to this Word, there is no light there.

Error 72. It is a fundamentall, and soule-damning error, to make sanctification an evidence of justification.

Confutation 72. This is contrary to these Scriptures, *Rom. 8. 1.* They that walke after the Spirit, are freed from condemnation, and are in Christ, and so justified: so *1. John 3. 10.* In this are the children of God known, &c.

Error 73. Christs worke of grace can no more distinguish between a Hypocrite and a Saint, then the raine that falls from Heaven, between the just and the unjust.

Confutation 73. This proposition being generall includeth all gracious works, and being so taken is contradicted in the parable of the sower, *Mat. 13. 20, 21, 23.* where the good ground is distinguished from the stony by this, that it brings forth fruit with patience, so *Hebr. 6. 9.* there is something better in the Saints, then those common gifts which are found in Hypocrites.

Error 74. All verball Covenants, or Covenants expressed in words, as Church Covenants, Vowes, &c. are Covenants of workes, and such as strike men off from Christ.

Confutation 74. First, this is contrary to Scripture, *Esa. 44. 5.* One shall say, I am the Lords, and another shall call himself by the name of the God of *Jacob. Rom. 10. 10.* With the mouth confession is made to salvation. Secondly, contrary to reason, for then the Covenant of grace, is made a Covenant of workes, by the writing, reading, and preaching of the same, for they are verball expressions of the Covenant on Gods part, as Church Covenants verbally expresse our closing herewith.

Error 75. The Spirit giveth such full and cleare evidence of my good estate that I have no need to be tryed by the fruits of sanctification, this were to light a candle to the Sun.

Confutation 75. This opinion taken in this sense, that after the Spirit hath testified a mans good estate, the person need not to be tryed by the fruit of sanctification,

fication; is contrary to the scope of the whole first Epistle of Saint John, where variety of arguments are propounded to all believers in common, 1 John 1. 13: to distinguish the person of believers from unbelievers, the water is annexed to the Spirit and blood, 1 John 5. 8.

Error 75. The Devil and nature may be cause of a gracious work.

Confutation 76. The words are unfavoury, and the position unfound; for calling (gracious) according to the language of the Scriptures, gracious words, Luke 4. 22: Let your speech be gracious, gracious words are such as issue from the saving grace of Christs Spirit indwelling in the soule, which neither the Devil, nor nature is able to produce, for Christ professeth, John 15. 3, 4. Without mee ye can doe nothing, nothing ungracious, John 3. Whatever is borne of the flesh, is flesh, and Rom. 7. 18. In my flesh dwelleth no good, (only spiritual and gracious) Gal. 5. Every imagination of the thoughts of a mans heart, are evil, and that consciously: Besides, the Devil is that evil and wicked one, only wickedness, an adversary to Gods grace and glory, that which is contrary to corrupt nature, and the hellish nature of Satan, and above the power of flesh, they cannot be the cause of gracious works.

Error 77. Sanctification is so farre from evidencing a good estate, that in darkness it rather, and a man may more clearly see Christ, when he hath no sanctification than when he doth; the darker my sanctification is, the brighter is my justification.

Confutation 77. This is contrary to the Scripture of truth, which rather giveth the name of light to sanctification and holiness, and even for this end, to cleare our justification, 1 John 1. 6, 7. For the holy Ghost concluded us from a cleare and infallible promise, and proposition, that if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, then doth the blood of Christ cleanse us from all unrighteousness: then and thereby it appeareth that it is done: as by the contrary, unholiness, or unholy walking is like darkness, which obscureth all the goodly presumptions flourishes, and hopes of an unregenerate man, verse 8. For this purpose, 1 John 3. 8, the water of sanctification is made a witness, not wth the nature of a witness it is not to darken and obscure matters in question, but to cleare them, and Psal. 91. 10, 11, 12: when David saw his heart so unquiet, and his spirit so altogether out of order, his justification was not then brighter, for then hee should have had the joy of his salvation more full, and not so to sink, as that he here might be referred to him, as implying, that his joy for the present was wanting to him.

Error 78. God hath given six witnesses, three in Heaven, and three in Earth, to beget and build justifying faith upon.

Confutation 78. This expression saith not the patterne of whole some words, for if this position bee taken thus, God hath given all these six witnesses both to beget and also to build justifying faith upon, it is contrary to Scripture, for God hath not given all these six witnesses to beget justifying faith, because the water of sanctification, which is one of the six, doth not goe before

of the whole Epistle of *John*, besides many other places of Scripture which yet hold forth bread sufficient (if by sufficient is meant that doctrine which is the right use is wholesome and good food) for it was written that their joy might be full; yet the evidencing of justification by sanctification is as expressly held forth, chap. 1. ver. 7. where he saith, If we walke in the light, as Christ is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ cleanse us from all sin; by walking in the light, in opposition to walking in darkness spoken of before, ver. 6. Sanctification is evidently meant, and this is expressly noted to be an evidence of our good condition; when it is said, if we so walke, the blood of Christ cleanse us from all sin.

Error 82. A Minister must not pray nor preach against any error, unless he declare in the open congregation upon any members inquiry, the names of sinners that hold them.

Confutation 82. This is contrary to Scriptures, which teach Ministers to pray and preach against all errors by whomsoever they be held; when he punish them. Watchmen and Stewards, in whom faithfulness is required in all administrations; yet withall it enjoineth them if a brother have not openly, to rebuke him in secret: first between them two alone, and afterward in the presence of two or three witnesses; and after this (and not before) to bring the matter to the Church, *Mat. 18. 15, 16, 17.*

Vnflavoury Speeches Confuted.

These that follow were said by the dissenting persons, in vnflavoury speeches.

1. **T**O say that we are justified by faith is an vnflavoury speech, we must say we are justified by Christ.

Answer 1. Faith, for the constant language of the Scripture is not vnflavoury, but we are justified by faith, is the constant language of the Scripture, *Rom. 3. 21.* being justified by faith; the righteousness of faith, *Rom. 10. 3, 4.* Righteousness by faith, *Phil. 3. 9, 10.*

2. The distinct phrase of the Scripture used in distinguishing Legall and Evangelicall righteousness is no vnflavoury speech, but such is this, *Rom. 9. 31. 32.* *Israel found not righteousness, because they sought it of the Law, and not of faith; so *Rom. 10. 5. 6.* The righteousness of faith, faith thus, &c. The Apostle makes these two so directly opposite, as *members adiversitas*, or contrary species, that there is no danger one should be taken for another, but that it is so fast, as that hee that affirms the one denies the other; yea, in the most exact expression that ever *Paul* made, to exclude whatsoever might bee vnflavoury towards a*

mans justification, you have this phrase, yea twice in the same verse, *Phil. 3. 5.* not having mine owne righteousness, which is of the Law, but that which is through the faith of Christ. And againe, The righteousness which is of God by faith (*in vñ mñs*) *Ege*, is no unsafe speech, yea, it must be said on the contrary from those grounds, that to say a man is justified before faith, or without faith, is unsafe, as contrary to the language of the Scriptures.

And for the second part, that we must say, we are justified by Christ, it is true so farre, as that it cannot bee denied, nor is it unsound or unsafe as all so to speake, but if it meane a must of necessity alwaies, or onely so to speake as it is here set in opposition to the phrase of being justified by faith, then it is utterly false, for as much as the Scripture leads us along in the way of other expressions ordinarily, and the Apostle gives us the truth of doctrine and soundness of phrase together, *Rom. 10. 3.* Christ is the end of the Law for righteousness to every one that believeth.

2. *To evidence justification by justification in general, favour of Rome.*

Answer. Not so, 1. *Rom* acknowledgeth not justification in our common sense, *Not* by righteousness imparted. 2. *Rom* deales evidencing of our justificationeend peace with God, and teacheth doctrine of doubting, and professeth that a man cannot know what God will doe with him for life or death, unlesse by speciall revelation, which is not ordinary: but if they meane old *Rom*, of *Paul* *Rom*, to which he wrote, it's true, that it favours of the doctrine that they received, as appeareth, *Rom. 8. 28.* All things co-work for good (the evill of every evil being taken away, which is a point of justification, and this is proposed under the evidence of the love of God) in them that love him, because, *Rom. 8. 2. 9. 12, 14.* the evidencing of our being in Christ, freed out from condemnation, and adoption is prosecuted by argument from sanctification, as by having the spirit, being led by the spirit, walking after the spirit, mortifying the deeds of the flesh by the spirit: and if hereto were added the doctrine of Saint *John*, so abundant this way in his first Epistle (whereof I have already made mention) I doubt not, but it was the faith of the Church of *Rome* that then was, so that the speech is unfavoury, and casting a foule asperion on a good thing expressed in the Scriptures, but as for the point it self, that is included, wee referre it to it's place, to bee discussed, when it is rightly stated.

3. *If I be holy, I am never the better accepted of God, if I be unholy, I am never the worse, this I am sure of, be that hath elected me must save me.*

Answer. These words favour very ill, and relish of a careless and ungracious spirit, for howsoever we grant that our acceptation unto justification is alwaies in and through Christ the same in Gods account, yet this expression imports, that though a mans conversation bee never so holy and gracious, yet hee can expect never the more manifestation of Gods kindnesse and love to him, contrary to *Psal. 50. ult.* To him that orders his conversation aright, I will shew the salvation of God, and *John 14. 21.* It implies secondly, that though a mans

conversa-

conversation bee never so vile and sensuall, yet hee need not feare nor expect any further expellion of Gods displeasure and anger to break forth against him, or withdrawings of his favour from him, contrary to *Psal* 51. 8. 11, 12. where God breaks *David*'s bones for his sin, and *Jerem* 2. 4. *Jerem* was as one cast out of Gods presence, and 2 *Chrom* 15. 2. If you forsake him he will forsake you: And in a word it imports, as if God neither loved righteousness, nor hated wickedness, contrary to *Psal* 45. 6, 7. and did take no delight in the obedience of his people, contrary to *Psal* 147. 11. The Lord delighted in those that feare him, &c. As concerning the last clause, hee that hath elected me must say more: it is true, the foundation of Gods election remaineth sure, yet it is as true, that whom he chuseth he purpoeeth to bring to salvation, through sanctification of the Spirit, 2 *Thim* 2. 13.

4. *If Christ will let me sin, let him look to it, upon his banner bee it.*

Answer. This retorts the Lords words upon himself, *Prov* 4. 18. 24. Keep thine heart, &c. Ponder thy paths, &c. and therefore no lesse blasphemous, and is contrary to the professed practise of *David*, *Psal* 28. 23. I was upright before him, and kept my selfe from mine iniquity: The latter clause puts the cause of Gods dishonour upon himself, no lesse blasphemous then the former, and contrary to *Rom* 1. 23. where the dishonouring of God is laid upon themselves.

5. *There is a great strife about grace and holiness in hearts, but give me Christ, I seek not for grace, but for Christ, I seek not for promises, but for Christ, I seek not for sanctification, but for Christ, and not me of meditation and duties, but tell me of Christ.*

Answer. 1. This speech seemeth to make a flat opposition between Christ and his graces, contrary to that in *Job* 1. 16. Of his fulnesse wee all received, and grace for grace, and between Christ and his promises, contrary to *Gal* 3. 12, 14. Christ was made a curse that wee might receive the promise of the Spirit, and *Luk* 1. 70. with 74. And betwixt Christ and all holy duties, contrary to *Tit* 2. 14. and therefore hold forth expressions not agreeing to wholesome doctrine.

6. *A living faith, that hath living fruits, may grow from the living Law.*

Answer. This whole speech is utterly crosse to the sound forme of words required, 2 *Tim* 1. 13. Hold fast the forme of sound words. 1. That a hypocrite may have a living Law, is contrary to *Jerem* 2. 17. where the hypocrites faith is called a dead faith. 2. That a hypocrite may bring forth living fruites, is contrary to that, *Heb* 9. 14. 3. That all this growe from a living Law, contrary to 1 *Cor* 3. 6. where the law is called a killing letter, and to *Gal* 3. 21. If there had been a law which could have given life, &c.

7. *I may know I am Christs, not because I doe crucifie the lusts of the flesh, but because I doe not crucifie them, but beleve in Christ that crucified my lusts for me.*

Answer. 1. The phrase is contrary to the Scripture language, *Gal* 5. 24. They that are Christs, have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts. 2. It sa-

The proceedings of the Generall Court holden at New- *Towne, in the Massachusetts in New-England, October 2. 1637.*

Against Mr. *Wheelwright* and other erroneous and seditious persons
 for their disturbance of the publick peace.

Although the Assembly of the Churches had censured and condemned
 most of those new opinions which were springing up amongst us, and Mr.
Cornwall had in publique view consented with them; yet the leaders in
 those erroneous wayes would not give us, but stood still to maintain
 their new light which they had boasted of; and what the difference was had
 as wide as before, viz. as great as between heaven and hell: Mr. *Wheelwright* also
 continued his preaching after his former manner, and Mrs. *Hutchinson* her
 wonted meetings and exercises, and much offence was still given by her, and o-
 thers in going out of the ordinary assemblies; when Mr. *W.* began any exercise,
 and some of the messengers of the Church of *Boston*, had contentiously with-
 drawn themselves from the Generall Assembly; with professed dislike of their
 proceedings; and many evidences brake forth of their discontented and tur-
 bulent spirits: it was conceived by the Magistrates, and others of the Countrey,
 that the means which had been used, proving uneffectual, the case was now de-
 sperate, and the last remedy was to be applied; and that without further de-
 lay, lest it should be attempted too late, when better opportunity might be offer-
 ed for their advantage, as they had boasted, and did certainly expect upon the
 return of some of their chiefe supporters, who by a speciall providence were now
 absent from them: And for this end the Generall Court being assembled in the
 ordinary course, it was determined to begin with those troublers of our peace,
 and to suppress them by the civil authority, whereunto there was a faire occasi-
 on offered upon a seditious writing, which had been delivered into the Court in
 March, when Mr. *Wheel* was convicted of sedition, &c. under the hands of more
 then three score of them, and intitled *A Remonstrance or Petition*, the Contents
 whereof were as followeth:

Wee whose names are under written, (have diligently observed this honour-
 ed Courts proceedings against our dear and reverend brother in Christ, Mr.
Wheel, now under censure of the Court for the truth of Christ) wee do humbly
 beseech this honourable Court, to accept this Remonstrance and Petition of
 ours, in all due submission tendered to your Worships.

For first, whereas our beloved Brother Mr. *Wheel*, is censured for contempt,
 by the greater part of this honoured Court, wee desire your Worships to con-
 sider the sincere intention of our Brother, to promote your end in the day of

Faith for whereas wee do perceiue your principall Intention the day of fast looked chiefly at the publick peace of the Churches, our Reverend Brother did to his best strength, and as the Lord assisted him, labour to promote your end, and therefore indeuoured to draw us nearer unto Christ, the head of our union, that so wee might bee established in peace, which wee conceive to bee the true way, sanctified of God, to obtaine your end, and therefore deserves no such censure as wee conceive.

Secondly, Whereas our deere Brother is censured of sedition, wee beseech your Worships to consider, that either the person condemned must be culpable of some seditious fact, or his doctrine must bee seditious, or must breed sedition in the hearts of his hearers, or else wee know not upon what grounds hee should bee censured. Now to the first, wee have not heard any that have witnessed against our brother for any seditious fact. Secondly, neither was the doctrine itself, being no other but the very expressions of the Holy Ghost himselfe, and therefore cannot justly be branded with sedition. Thirdly, if you look at the effects of his Doctrine upon the hearers, it hath not stirred up sedition in us, nor so much as by accident; wee have not drawn the sword, as sometimes *Peter* did, rashly, neither have wee rescued our innocent Brother, as sometimes the Israelites did *Joshua* 24, and yet they did not seditiously. The Covenant of free grace held forth by our Brother, hath taught us rather to become humble suppliants to your Worships, and if wee should not prevaile, wee would rather with patience give our cheekes to the smiters. Since therefore the Teacher, the Doctrine, and the hearers bee most free from sedition (as wee conceive) wee humbly beseech you in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, your Judge and ours, and for the honour of this Court, and the proceedings thereof, that you will bee pleased either to make it appeare to us, and to all the world, to whom the knowledge of all these things will come, wherein the sedition lies, or else acquit our Brother of such a censure.

Further, wee beseech you remember the old method of Satan, the ancient enemy of free Grace, in all ages of the Churches, who hath raised up such calumnies against the faithfull Prophets of God, *Elisha* was called the troubler of *Israel*, 1 *King* 18. 17, 18. *Amos* was charged for conspiracy, *Amos* 7. 10. *Paul* was counted a pestilent fellow, or moover of sedition, and a ring-leader of a Sect, *Acts* 24. 5. and Christ himselfe, as well as *Paul*, was charged to bee a Teacher of New Doctrine, *Mark* 1. 27. *Acts* 17. 19. Now wee beseech you consider, whether that old serpent work not after his old method, even in our daies.

Further, wee beseech you consider the danger of meddling against the Prophets of God, *Psal* 105. 14, 15. for what yee doe unto them, the Lord Jesus takes as done unto himselfe; if you hurt any of his members, the head is very sensible of it: for so saith the Lord of Hosts, Hee that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of mine eye, *Zach* 1. 8. And better a mill-stone were hanged about our neckes, and that wee were cast into the sea, then that wee should offend any

of these little ones, which beleve on him, *Mat. 18. 6.*

And lastly, we beseech you consider, how you should stand in relation to us, as nursing Fathers, which give us encouragement to promote our humble requests to you, or else we would say with the Prophet, *Isa. 52. 4.* Looke from me that I may weep bitterly, Labour not to comfort me, &c. or as *Jer. 9. 2.* O that I had in the Wildernesse a lodging place of a wayfaring man. And thus have we made knowne our griefes and desires to your Worships, and leave them upon record with the Lord and with you, knowing that if we should receive repulse from you, with the Lord we shall find grace.

Amongst others who had subscribed to this writing, *William Apinwall* was one, and being returned for one of the Deputies of *Boston*, it was propounded in the Court, whether he was fit to be received a member of the Court, having subscribed to the said writing, which was so much to the dishonour and contempt thereof, &c. Whereupon hee was demanded if hee would iustifie the matter contained in the said writing: which when he had peremptorily affirmed by the vote of the Court he was presently dismissed: Whereupon *Mr. Cargill*, another of the Deputies of *Boston*, who had not subscribed to the said writing, being then a Deputy of the Court, spake very boldly to the Court and told them, that seeing they had put out *Mr. Apinwall* for that matter, they were best make one work of all, for as for himselfe, though his hand were not to the Petition, yet hee did approve of it, and his hand was to a Protestation, which was to the same effect. Whereupon the Court dismissed him also, and sent word to *Boston* to chuse two new Deputies: then *Mr. Coddington* the third Deputy, moved the Court by order from the Town of *Boston* that the former censure against *Mr. Wicks* might be reversed, and that the order made against receiving such as should not be allowed by the Magistrates might be repealed, whereby the Court perceived their obstinate resolution in maintaining this faction, and thereupon gave Order hee should be sent for: and for the Law, the answer was, that whereas a Declaration had been made of the equity of that Law, and that specially for the satisfaction of those of *Boston*, and an Answer had been published by some of them, wherein much reproach and slander had been cast upon the Court, to which a reply had been made above six weeks since, but was kept in upon expectation that the late Assembly would have had some good effect, in clearing the points in controversy, and reconciling the minds of the adverse party, but they continuing obstinate and irreconcilable, it was thought fit the whole proceedings about the Law should be brought forth: and accordingly the next day, the Declaration, the Answer, and the Reply, were all brought to the Court, and there openly read, which gave such satisfaction to those which were present, as no man ought to object, and some that were of the adverse party, and had taken offence at the Law, did openly acknowledge themselves fully satisfied.

When the Warrant came to the Towne of *Boston*, they assembled together and agreed (the greater part of them) to send the same Deputies which the

Court have rejected, pretending that it was their liberty, and those were the ablest men, &c. but Mr. *Cotton* coming amongst them, and perceiving their rash and contemptuous behaviour, by his wisdom diverted them from that course, so they chose two other, but one of them they knew would be rejected, because his hand was also to the seditious writing, as it fell out, for his refusing to acknowledge his fault in it, was also dismissed, and a new Warrant sent for another to be chosen, which they never made any returne of, but that contempt the Court let passe.

When Mr. *Whalwright* appeared, It was declared to him, that whereas he was long since convict of sedition and contempt of authority, and time had been given him from Court to Court, to come to the knowledge of his offence, the Court thought it now time to know how his mind stood, whether he would acknowledge his offence, or abide the sentence of the Court? His answer was to this effect, that he had committed no sedition nor contempt, hee had delivered nothing but the truth of Christ, and for the application of his doctrine, it was by others, and not by him, &c.

To which it was answered by the Court, that they had not censured his doctrine, but left it as it was; but his application, by which hee laid the Magistrates, and the Ministers, and most of the people of God in these Churches, under a Covenant of works, and thereupon declared them to be enemies to Christ, and Antichrists, and such enemies as *Herod* and *Pilate*, and the Scribes and Pharisees, &c. perswading the people to look at them, and deale with them as such, and that he described them so, as all men might know who he meant, as well as if he had named the parties, for he was present in the Court a little before, when both Magistrates and Ministers did openly professe their judgment in that point, and that they did walk in such a way of evidencing justification by sanctification, &c. as he held forth to be a Covenant of works.

Secondly, the fruits of that Sermon of Mr. *Whalwright*, together with the Declaration of his judgement in that point both before and since, have declared it to tend to Sedition; for whereas before hee broached his opinions, there was a peaceable and comely order in all affaires in the Churches, and Civil state, &c. now the difference which he hath raised amongst men, by a false distinction of a Covenant of grace and a Covenant of works; whereby one party is looked at as friends to Christ, and the other as his enemies, &c. all things are turned upside downe among us. As first, in the Church, hee that will not renounce his sanctification, and waite for an immediate revelation of the Spirit, cannot be admitted, hee hee never so godly, hee that is already in the Church, that will not doe the same, and acknowledge this new light, and say as they say, is presently noted, and under-esteemed, as favouring of a Covenant of works; thence it spreads into the families, and sets divisions between husband and wife, and other relations there, till the weaker give place to the stronger, otherwise it turnes to open contention; it is come also into Civill and publike

publike Affaires, and hath bred great disturbance there; as appeared in the late expedition against the *Pequids*; for whereas in former expeditions the Towne of *Boston* was as forward as any others to send of their choice members, and a greater number then other Townes, in the time of the former Governour, now in this last service they sent not a member, but one or two whom they cared not to be rid of, and but a few others, and those of the most refuse sort, and that in such a carelesse manner, as gave great discouragement to the service, not one man of that side accompanying their Pallour, when he was sent by the joint consent of the Court, and all the Elders upon that expedition, not so much as bidding him farewell; what was the reason of this difference? Why, nothing but this, Mr. *Wetherright* had taught them that the former Governour, and some of the Magistrates then were friends of Christ and Free-grace, but the present were enemies, &c. Antichrists, Persecutors: What was the reason that the former Governour never stirred out, but attended by the Sergeants, with Halberds or Carbines, but this present Governour neglected? Why, the people were taught to look at this, as an enemy to Christ, &c. The same difference hath been observed in Town lots, rates, and in neighbour meetings, and almost in all Affaires, whereby it is apparent what disturbance the seditious application of Mr. *Wetherright* hath wrought among us; therefore as the Apostle saith, I would they were cut off that trouble you; and as *Cain*, *Hagar*, and *Ismael*, were expressed as troubleers of the families (which were then as common wealths) so justice requires, and the necessity of the peace calls for it, that such disturbers should bee put out from among us, seeing it is one of their tenents, that it is not possible their opinions and externall peace, can stand together; and that the difference between them and us is (as they say) as wide as between Heaven and Hell.

Further the Court declared what meanes had beene used, to convince him, and to reduce him into the right way, as first at the Court, when he was convicted of his offence, the Ministers being called together, did labour by many sound arguments, both in publike and private, to convince him of his error and sinne, but he contemptuously slighted whatsoever they or the Magistrates said to him in that behalfe; and since that much paines had been taken with him, both by conference and writing, not onely privately, but also by the late Assembly of the Churches, wherein his erroneous opinions, which were the groundworke of his seditious Sermon were clearly confuted, and himself put to silence, yet hee obstinately persisted in justification of his erroneous opinions; and besides there was an Apology written in defence of the proceedings of the Court against him, which though it were kept in for a time in expectation of a Remonstrance, which some of his party were in hand with, for justification of his Sermon, yet it was long since published, and without question he hath seen it: besides, the Court hath used much patience towards him from time to time, admonishing him of his danger, and waiting for his repentance, in stead whereof he hath threatened us with an appeale; and urged us to proceed: To this Mr. *Wetherright* replied, that

he would, by the help of God, make good his doctrines, and free them from all the arguments which had been brought against them in the late Assembly, & denyed that he had seen the Apology, but confessed that he might have seen it if he would. This was observed as an argument of the pride of his spirit, and wilfull neglect of all the meanes of light in that he would not vouchsafe to read a very briefe writing, and such as so much concerned him.

Although the cause was now ready for sentence, yet night being come, the Court arose, and enjoyned him to appear the next morning.

The next morning he appeared, but long after the houre appointed, the Court demanded what he had to alledge, why sentence should not proceed against him: He answered, that there was no sedition or contempt proved against him, and whereas he was charged to have set forth the Magistrates and Ministers, as enemies to Christ, &c. he desired it might be shewed him in what page or leafe of his Sermon, he had so said of them; The Court answered, that he who designes a man by such circumstances, as do note him out to common intendments, doth as much as if he named the party: when *Paul* spake of those of the Circumcision, it was as certaine whom he meant, as if he named the Jewes; when in *Belemis* they spake of differences between men, *sub una & sub utraque*, it was all one as to have said Papists and Protestants, so of the Monstrants and Remonstrants: for by the meanes of him and his followers, all the people of God in this Countrey were under the distinction of men under the Covenant of grace, and men under a Covenant of works. Mr. *Wheeler* alledged a place in *Mat. 23.* where Christ speaking against the Scribes and Pharisees, no advantage could they take against him, because he did not name them: but it was answered, they did not spare him for that cause, for then they would have taken their advantage at other times, when hee did name them. One or two of the Deputies spake in his defence, but it was to so little purpose (being onely more out of affection to the party, then true judgment of the state of the cause) that the Court had little regard of it. Mr. *Wheelwright* being demanded if he had ought else to speake, said that there was a double Fallacie in the charge laid upon him. 1. In that the troubles of the Civill State were imputed to him, but as it was by accident, as it is usuall in preaching of the Gospel. 2. That it was not his Sermon that was the cause of them, but the Lord Jesus Christ. To which the Court answered, that it was apparent he was the instrument of our troubles, hee must prove them to be by such accident, and till then the blame must rest upon himselfe, for wee know Christ would not own them, being out of his way. After these and many other speeches had passed, the Court declaring him guilty for troubling the civil peace, both for his seditious Sermon, and for his corrupt and dangerous opinions, and for his contemptuous behaviour in divers Courts formerly, and now obdutely maintaining and justifying his said errors and offences, and for that hee refused to depart voluntarily from us, which the Court had now offered him, and in a manner perswaded him unto; Seeing it was apparent unto him, from that of
our

our Saviour, *Math.* that we could not continue together without the ruine of the whole, he was sentenced to bee disfranchised & banished our jurisdiction, and to be put in safe custody, except he should give sufficient security to depart before the end of March: upon this, he appealed to the Kings Majesty, but the Court told him an appeal did not lie in this case, for the King having given us an authority by his grant under his great Scale of *England* to heare and determine all causes without any reservation, wee were not to admit of any such appeales for any such subordinate State, either in *Ireland*, or *Scotland*, or other places, and if an appeal should lie in one case, it might be challenged in all, and then there would bee no use of government among us, neither did an appeal lie from any Court in any County or Corporation in *England*, but if a party will remove his cause to any of the Kings higher Courts, he must bring the Kings Writ for it: neither did he tender any appeal, nor call any witnesses, nor desired any Act to be entred of it: then hee was demanded if hee would give security for his quiet departure, which he refusing to doe, hee was committed to the custody of the Marshall. The next morning he bethought himselfe better, and offered to give security, alledging that hee did not conceive the day before, that a sentence of banishment was pronounced against him: he also suffered to relinquish his appeal, and said hee would accept of a simple banishment. The Court answered him, that for his appeal, hee might doe as he pleased, and for his departure, he should have the liberty the Court had offered him, provided he should not preach in the meane time, but that he would not yield unto; so in the end the Court gave him leave to goe home, upon his promise, that if he were not departed out of his jurisdiction within fourteen dayes, hee would render himself at the house of Mr. *Stanton* one of the Magistrates, there to abide as a prisoner, till the Court should dispose of him.

Mr. Cogshall.

The next who was called, was Mr. *John Cogshall*, one of the Deacons of *Boston*. Upon his appearance the Court declared that the cause why they had sent for him, was partly by occasion of his speeches and behaviour in this Court the other day, and partly for some light miscarriages at other times, and that they did looke at him, as one that had a principall hand in all our late disturbances of our publike peace. The first things wee doe charge you with, is your justifying a writing called a Remonstrance or Petition, but indeed a seditious Libell, and that when Mr. *Aps.* was questioned by the Court about it, you stood up uncalled, and justified the same, saying to this effect: that if the Court meant to disauisse him for that, it was best to make but one work of all, for though you selfe had not your hand to the Petition, yet you did approve thereof, and your hand was to the Protestation, which was to the same effect, whereupon you beig also dismissed, used clamorous and unbecoming speeches to the Court at your departure, whereby wee take you to bee of the same mind with

those who made the Petition, and therefore liable to the same punishment upon this the Petition was openly read, and liberty was granted to him to answer for himselfe. His first answer was, that what he then spake, he spake as a member of the Court: to which it was answered againe, that i. he was no member of the Court standing upon tryall whether to be allowed or rejected, at such a time as he uttered most of those speeches: 2. Admitt he were, yet it is no privilege of a member to reproach or affront the whole Court, if it is licenciousnes and no liberty, when a man may speake what he list, for he was reminded of some words he uttered at his going forth of the Court, to this effect, that we had censured the truth of Christ, & that it was the greatest stroke that ever was given to free-grace.

To which he answered, that his words were mistaken; for hee said that hee would pray that our eyes might be opened to see what we did, for he thought it the greatest stroke that ever was given to N.E. for he did believe that Mr. Wheelwright did hold forth the truth. He was further charged, that at the Court, after the day of elections, he complained of injury, that the Petition which was tendered, was not presently read before they went to election.

To which being answered, that it was not then seasonable, and against the order of that day, but the Court were then ready to heare it, if it were tendered; whereupon he turned his backe upon the Court, and used menacing speeches to this effect. That since they could not bee heard then, they would take another course. To which hee answered (confessing he spake over hastily at that time) that his words were onely these, then wee must doe what God shall direct us. Hee was further charged that hee should say, that halfe the people that were in Church Covenant in N.E. were under a Covenant of workes, this hee did not deny, but said, hee proved it by the parable of the ten Virgins. Mat. 25. After these and many other speeches had passed between the Court and himselfe, by which it plainly appeared, that he had beene a very buis instrument in occasioning of our publike disturbances, and his justifying of Master Wheelwrights Sermon, and the Petition or Remonstrance being seditious writings, a motion was made for his banishment, but hee pretended that there was nothing could be laid to his charge, but matter of different opinion, and that he knew not one example in Scripture, that a man was banished for his judgement: It was answered, that if hee had kept his judgement to himselfe, so as the publike peace had not been troubled or endangered by it, wee should have left him to himselfe, for we doe not challenge power over mens consciences, but when seditious speeches and practices discover such a corrupt conscience, it is our duty to use authority to reforme both. But though a great part of the Court did incline to a motion for his banishment, yet because his speech and behaviour at present were more modest and submisive, then formerly they had beene, and for that he excused his former intemperances by his much employment and publike businesses, it was thought fit to deliver him from that temptation, so he was onely sentenced to bee disfranchized, with admonition no more to occa-

son any disturbance of the publicke peace, either by speech, or otherwise, upon paine of banishment and further censure.

THE next who was called, was Mr. *William Apis*, to whom the Court said that his case was in a manner the same with Master *Copps*; his hand was to the Petition, he had justified Master *Whelwright* his Sermon, and had condemned the Court, and therefore what could hee say, why the Court should not proceed to sentence? For hee had been present and heard what was said to Master *Copps* to have convinced him of his fault, and therefore it would bee needlesse to repeat any thing. To this he answered, and confessed the Petition, and that his heart was to it, as well as his hand; and that that for which Master *Whelwright* was censured, was for nothing but the truth of Christ, and desired to know what wee could say to his charge therein. The Court told him, that he being a member of this civill Body, and going contrary to his relation and oath, to stop the course of Justice in countenancing seditious persons and practices against the face of Authority, this made him to a seditious person. He answered, he did but preferre a humble Petition, which hee could not doe, but he must intimate some cause why, and that *Apophis* in his Petition did imply as much of *David* unjust sentence against him as was in that Petition. The Court replied that he was ill advised to bring that example for his justification which makes clearly against him, for *Apophis* doth not charge *David* with any injustice, no so much as by implication; but excuse himself, and layeth all the blame upon his servants. Then he alledged the Petition of *Esler* to *Abasment*, but neither would that serve his turne, for hee pardoned for her life, &c. without charging the King with injustice. He then fled to this plea, that it is lawfull for Subjects to petition, the Court answered that this was no Petition, but a seditious Libell, the misnaming of a thing doth not alter the nature of it: besides, they called it in the first place a Remonstrance, which implies that they pretended interest, and is in the nature of it a plea, which challengeth a right of a party: besides, they give peremptory judgement in the cause, and that directly opposite to the judgement of the Court; the Court declared Master *Whelwright* guilty, they proclaimed him innocent, the Court judged his Speech to be false and seditious, they affirmed it to be the word of Christ, and the very words of the Holy Ghost, which is apparently untrue, if not blasphemous. Further in pretending their moderation, they put arguments in the peoples minds to invite them to violence, by bringing the Example of *Thar* drawing his Sword, wherein they blame not his fact, but his rashnes. And that of the People refusing *Jambs*, which to make them more effectuall, they say that it was not seditious.

Lastly, it was great arrogance of any private man thus openly to advance his owne judgement of the Court, therefore it will appeare to their Posterity as a brand of infamy, upon their erroneous opinions, that those who maintained

them were not censured for their judgement, but for seditious Practises: He further pleaded, that no Petition can be made in such a case; but something may be mistaken through misprision as trenching upon authority, the Court answered, that if they had only petitioned the Court to remit his censure, or had desired respite for further considerations, or leave to propound their doubts, there could have been no danger of being mistaken. Besides there was no neede of such haste in Petitioning seeing the sentence was not given, but deferring till the next Court, Master *Wheelwright* injoynd onely to appeare there. The Court then being about to give sentence, Master *Aspin* desired the Court to shew a rule in Scripture for banishment; the Court answered at before, that *Hagar* and *Ismael* were banished for disturbance: hee replied that if a Father give a child a portion and sent him forth, it was not banishment: but it was answered, the Scripture calls it a casting out, not a sending forth; and one said further that he was a child worthy of such a portion.

Then the sentence of the Court was for his dis-franchisement and banishment, and time given him to the last of *March* upon security for his departure then, which he presently tendered, and so was dismissed. The Court intended onely to have dis-franchised him, as they had done Mr. *Cogshall*, but his behaviour was so contemptuous, and his speeches so peremptory, that occasioned a further aggravation, and it appeared afterward to be by an over-ruling hand of God, for the next day it was discovered, that hee was the man that did frame the Petition, and drew many to subscribe to it, and some had their names put to it without their knowledge, and in his first draught there was other passages in soule, as hee was forced to put them out, and yet many had not subscribed, but upon his promise that it should not be delivered without advice of Mr. *Cotton*, which was never done.

William Baulston, Ed. Hutchison.

After these, two of the Serjants of *Boston* were called, *William Baulston*, & *Ed. Hutchison*, these both had their hands to the Petition, and justified the same, *William Baulston* told the Court, that hee knew that if such a petition had been made in any other place in the world, there would have been no fault found with it. The other told the Court, (turning himselfe in a scornfull manner) that if they took away his estate, they must keep his wife and children; for which hee was presently committed to the Officer. The Court reasoned a good while with them both, but they were peremptorie, and would acknowledge no failing, and because of their contemptuous speeches, and for that they were known to be very busie persons, and such as had offered contempt to the Magistrates, for that they were not of their opinion, they were dis-franchised and fined, *William Baulston* twenty pounds, *Ed. Hutchison* forty Pounds.

The next morning *Ed. Hutchison* acknowledged his fault in his misbehaviour in the face of the Court, and so was released of his imprisonment, but both were disabled from bearing any publick Office,

Tho. Marshall, Dynely, Dier, Rich. Gridly.
 Another day were called foure more of the Principall stirring men, who had subscribed to the Petition, *Thomas Marshall* the Ferry-man, who justified the Petition so farre, that hee would not acknowledge any fault, yet hee answered more modestly then the former, therefore hee was not fined, but dis-franchised, and put out of his place. *Dynely*, and *Dier*, had little to say for themselves, but persisting in their justification, they were also dis-franchised: likewise *Rich. Gridly*, an honest poore man, but very apt to meddle in publike affaires, beyond his calling or skill, (which indeed was the fault of them all, and of many others in the Countrey) meane condition, and weake parts, having nothing to say, but that he could find no fault, &c. was dis-franchised.

Mistress Hutchison.

All these (except *Mr. Wheelwright*) were but young branches, springing out of an old root, the Court had now to doe with the head of all this faction, (*Dux femina facti*) a woman had been the breeder and nourisher of all these distempers, one *Mistress Hutchison*, the wife of *Mr. William Hutchison* of *Boston* (a very honest and peaceable man, of good estate) and the daughter of *Mr. Martyn*, sometimes a Preacher in *Lincolnshire*, after of *London*, a woman of a haughty, and fierce carriage, of a nimble wit and active spirit, and a very voluble tongue, more bold then a man, though in understanding and judgement, inferior to many women. This woman had learned her skill in *England*, and had discovered some of her opinions in the Ship, as shee came over, which had caused some jealousy of her, which gave occasion of some delay of her admission, when shee first desired fellowship with the Church of *Boston*, but shee cunningly dissembled and coloured her opinions, as shee soon got over that block, and was admitted into the Church, then shee began to goe to work, and being a woman very helpfull in the times of child-birth, and other occasions of bodily infirmities, and well furnished with means for those purposes, shee easily intimated her selfe into the affections of many, and the rather, because shee was much inquisitive of them about their spirituall estates, and in discovering to them the danger they were in, by trusting to common gifts and graces, without any such witness of the Spirit, as the Scriptures holds out for a full evidence, whereby many were convinced that they had gone on in a Covenant of works, and were much humbled thereby, and brought to inquire more after the Lord Jesus Christ, without whom all their gifts and graces, all their contributions, &c. would prove but legall, and would vanish: all this was well, and suited with the publick Ministry, which went along in the same way, and all the faithfull embraced it, and blessed God for the good successe that appeared from this discovery. But when shee had thus prepared the way by such wholesome truths, then shee begins to set forth her owne stuffe, and taught that no sanctification was any evidence of a good estate, except their justification were first

cleared up to them by the immediate witness of the Spirit, and that to see any worke of grace, (either faith or repentance, &c.) before th^e immediate witness, was a Covenant of works: whereupon many good soules, that had been of long approved godlinesse, were brought to renounce all the work of grace in them, and to wait for this immediate revelation: then sprung up also that opinion of the in-dwelling of the person of the Holy Ghost, and of union with Christ, and justification before faith, and a denying of any gifts or graces, or inherent qualifications, and that Christ was all, did all, and that the soule remained alwayes as a dead Organ: and other of those grosse extours, which were condemned in the late Assembly, and whereof diverse had been qualshed by the publick Ministry, but the maine and bottoome of all, which tended to quench all indeavour, and to bring to a dependance upon an immediate witness of the Spirit, without sight of any gift or grace, this stuck fast, and prevailed so, as it began to bee opposed, and shee being questioned by some, who marvelled that such opinions should spread so fast, shee made answer, that where ever shee came they must and they should spread: and indeed it was a wonder upon what a sudden the whole Church of *Bustan* (some few excepted) were become her new converts, and infected with her opinions, and many also out of the Church, and of other Churches also, yea, many prophane persons became of her opinion, for it was a very easie, and acceptable way to heaven, to see nothing, to have nothing, but waite for, Christ to doe all, so that after shee had thus prevailed, and had drawn some of eminent place and parts to her party (whereof some profited so well, as in a few moneths they outwent their teacher) then shee kept open house for all comers, and set up two Lectures dayes in the week, when they usually met at her house, threescore or fourescore persons, the pretence was to repeate Sermons, but when that was done, shee would comment upon the Doctrines, and interpret all passages at her pleasure, and expound dark places of Scripture, so as whatsoever the Letter held forth (for this was one of her tenents, that the whole Scripture in the Letter of it held forth nothing but a Covenant of works) shee would bee sure to make it serve her turn, for the confirming of her maine principles, whereof this was another, That the darker our sanctification is, the cleerer is our justification: And indeed most of her new tenents tended to slothfullnesse, and quench all indeavour in the creature: and now was there no speech so much in use, as of vilifying sanctification, and all for advancing Christ and free grace, and the whole Pedegree of the Covenant of works was set forth with all its Complementts, beginning at *Cain*, If thou dost well, shalt thou not bee accepted? then it is explained and ratified at mount *Sinai*, and delivered in the two Tables, and after sprinkled with the blood of Christ, *Exod* 24. and so carryed on in the Letter of the Scripture, till it bee compleat, as the Covenant of Grace by the Spirit, seals forgiveness of sins, one of the venters whereon Christ begets children, &c. and in the end wherefore is all this adoe, but that

having

having a more cleanly way, to lay all that opposed her (being over all the Elders, and most of the faithfull Christians in this Countrey) under a Covenant of workes, she might with the more credit, disclose and advance her matter-piece of immediate revelations, under the faire pretence of the Covenant of Free-Grace; wherein she had not failed of her aim, to the utter subversion both of Churches & Civill state, if the most wise and mercifull providence of the Lord had not prevented it, by keeping so many of the Magistrates, and Elders, free from the infection: for upon the countenance which it took from some eminent persons, her opinions began to hold up their heads, in Church Assemblies, and in the Court of Justice, so as it was held a matter of offence to speak any thing against them in either Assembly: thence sprang all that trouble to the Pastor of Boston, for his free and faithfull speech in the Court, though required and approved: thence tooke Mr. Wheelwright courage to inveigh in his Sermon against him in a Covenant of workes (as he placed them) and to proclaime them all enemies to Christ, Scribes and Pharisees, &c. whereas before hee was wont to teach in a plain and gentle stile, and though he would sometimes glance upon these opinions, yet it was modestly and reservedly, not in such a peremptory and censorious manner, as he did then and after; for they made full account the day had been theirs: But blessed bee the Lord, the snare is broken, and wee are delivered; and this Woman, who was the root of all these troubles, stands now before the seat of Justice, to be rooted out of her station, by the hand of authority, guided by the finger of divine providence, as the sequell will shew.

When she appeared, the Court spake to her to this effect.

Mistress Hutchinson, You are called hither as one of those who have had a great share in the causes of our publicke disturbances, partly by those erroneous opinions which you have broached and divulged amongst us, and maintaining them, partly by countenancing and encouraging such as have sowed seditions amongst us, partly by casting reproach upon the faithfull Ministers of this Countrey, and upon their Ministry, and so weakening their hands in the worke of the Lord, and raising prejudices against them, in the hearts of their people, and partly by maintaining weekly and publick meetings in your house, to the offence of all the Countrey, and the detriment of many families, and still upholding the same, since such meetings were clearly condemned in the late generall Assembly.

Now the end of your sending for, is, that either upon sight of your errors, and other offences, you may be brought to, acknowledge and reforme the same, or otherwise that wee may take such course with you, as you may trouble us no further.

We do desire therefore to know of you, whether you will justifie and maintain what is laid to your charge or not?

Mistress Hutchinson, I am called here to answer to such things as are laid to my charge, name one of them.

Court. Have you countenanced, or will you justifie those seditious practices which have been censured herein this Court?

Hutch. Doe you ask me upon point of Conscience?

Court. No, your conscience you may keep to your selfe, but if in this cause you shall countenance and encourage those that thus transgresse the Law; you must bee called in question for it, and that is not for your conscience, but for your practice.

Hutch. What Law have they transgressed? the law of God?

Court. Yes, the fifth Commandement, which commands us to honour Father & Mother, which includes all in authority, but these seditious practices of theirs, have cast reproach and dishonour upon the Fathers of the Common-wealth.

Hutch. Doe I entertaine, or maintaine them in their factions, wherein they stand against any thing that God hath appointed?

Court. Yes, you have justified Mr. *Whewright* his Sermon, for which you know he was convicted of sedition, and you have likewise countenanced and encouraged those that had their hands to the Petition.

Hutch. I deny it, I am to obey you onely in the Lord.

Court. You cannot deny but you had your hand in the Petition.

Hutch. Put case I doe feare the Lord, and my Parent do not, may not I entertaine one that feares the Lord, because my father will not let me? I may put honour upon him as a child of God.

Court. That is nothing to the purpose, but wee cannot stand to dispute causes with you now; what say you to your weekly publick meetings? can you shew a warrant for them?

Hutch. I will shew you how I tooke it up, there were such meetings in use before I came, and because I went to none of them, this was the speciall reason of my taking up this course, we began it but with five or six, and though it grew to more in future time, yet being tolerated at the first, I knew not why it might not continue.

Court. There were private meetings indeed, and are still in many places, of some few neighbours, but not so publike and frequent as yours, and are of use for increase of love, and mutuall edification, but yours are of another nature, if they had been such as yours, they had been evill, and therefore no good warrant to justifie yours; but answer by what authority, or rule you uphold them.

Hutch. By *Th. 2.* where the elder women are to teach the younger.

Court. So wee allow you to doe, as the Apostle there meanes, privately, and upon occasion, but that gives no warrant of such set meetings for that purpose, and besides, you take upon you to teach many that are elder then your selfe, neither doe yo teach them that which the Apostle commands, *viz.* to keepe at home.

Hutch. Will you please to give me a rule against it, and I will yeeld?

Court. You must have a rule for it, or else you cannot do it in faith, yet you have

have a plaine rule against it; *I permit not a Woman to teach*, yet I don't think that is meant of teaching men.

Court If a man in distresse of conscience, or other temptation, &c. should come and ask your counsel in private, might you not teach him?

Hutch Yes.

Court Then it is cleare, that it is not meant of teaching men, but of teaching in publike.

Hutch It is said, I will poure out my Spirit upon your Daughters, and they shall prophesie, &c. If God give me a gift of Prophecy, I may use it.

Court First, the Apostle applies that Prophecy unto those extraordinary times, and the gifts of miracles and tongues were common to many, as well as the gift of Prophecy. Secondly, in teaching your children, you exercise your gift of prophecy, and that within your calling.

Hutch I teach not in a publick congregation; the men of Berea are commended for examining *Pauls* Doctrine: we do no more but read the notes of our Teachers Sermons, and then reason of them by searching the Scriptures.

Court You are gone from the nature of your meeting, to the kind of exercise, wee will follow you in this, and shew you your offence in them, for you doe not as the Bereans search the Scriptures for their confirming in the truth delivered; but you open your Teachers points, and declare his meaning, and correct wherein you think he hath failed, &c. and by this means you abate the honour and authority of the publick Ministry, and advance your owne gifts, as if hee could not deliver his matter so clearly to the hearers capacity, as your self.

Hutch Prove that, that any body doeth that.

Court Yes; you are the woman of most note, and of best abilities, and if some other take upon them the like, it is by your teaching and example, but you themselves not in all this, by what authority you take upon you to be such a publick instructor: (after she had stood a short time, the Court gave her leave to sit down, for her countenance discovered some bodily infirmity.)

Hutch Here is my authority, *Aquila* and *Priscilla* tooke upon them to instruct *Apoll* more perfectly; yet he was a man of good parts; but they being better instructed, might teach him.

Court See how your argument stands, *Priscilla* with her husband tooke *Apoll* home to instruct him privately, therefore *Miltis Hutchison* without her husband may teach sixty or eighty.

Hutch I call them not; but if they come to me, I may instruct them.

Court Yet you shew us not a rule.

Hutch I have given you two places of Scripture.

Court But neither of them will succ your practice.

Hutch Must I shew my name written therein?

Court You must shew that which must be equivalent, seeing your Ministry is publick, you would have them receive your instruction, as coming from such an Ordinance.

Hutch. They must not take it as it comes from mee, but as it comes from the Lord Iesus Christ, and if I took upon mee a publick Ministry, I should break a rule, but not in exercising a gift of Prophecy, and I would sen a rule to turn away them that come to mee.

Court. It is your exercise which draws them, and by occasion thereof, many families are neglected, and much time lost, and a great damage comes to the Common-wealth thereby, which wee that are betruisted with, as the Fathers of the Common-wealth, are not to suffer. Divers other speeches passed to and fro about this matter, the issue was, that not being able to bring any rule to justify this her disordered course, shee said shee walked by the rule of the Apostle, *Gal.* which shee called the rule of the new creature, but what rule that was shee would not, or shee could not tell, neither would shee consent to lay down her meetings, except authority did put them downe, and then shee might be subject to authority.

Then the Court laid to her charge, the reproach shee had cast upon the Ministers, and Ministry in this Country, saying, that none of them did preach the Covenant of Free Grace, but Master Cotton, and that they have not the Seale of the Spirit, and in were not able Ministers of the New Testament: shee denyed the words, but they were affirmed by divers of the Ministers, being desired by the Court to be present for that end. The matter was thus, it being reported abroad that *Master Hutchins* did slight them and their Ministry in their common talk, as if they did preach nothing but a Covenant of Works, because they pressed much for faith and love &c. without holding forth such an immediate witness of the Spirit as shee pretended, they advised with *Master Cotton* about it, and a meeting was appointed at his house, and hee being sent for, and demanded the reason why shee had used such speeches, at first shee would not acknowledge them, but being told that they could prove them by witnesses, and persuaded to deale freely and truly therein, shee said that the feare of man was a snare, and therefore shee was glad shee had this opportunity to open her mind, and thereupon shee told them, that there was a wide difference betweene *Master Cottons* Ministry and theirs, and that they could not hold forth a Covenant of Free Grace, because they had not the Seale of the Spirit, and that they were not able Ministers of the New Testament.

It was neere night, so the Court brake up, and shee was injoyned to appeare againe the next morning. When shee appeared the next day, shee objected that the Ministers had spoken in their owne cause, and that they ought not to be informers and witnesses both, and required that they might be sworn to what they had spoken: to which the Court answered, that if it were needfull, an oath should be given them: but because the whole Court (in a manner man by man) did declare themselves to be fully satisfied of the truth of their testimonies, they being 6 or 7. men of long approved godlinesse and sincerity in their course, and for that it was also generally observed, that those of her party did looke

at their ministry (for the most part) as a way of the Covenant of workes, and one had been punished about half a yeer before, for reporting the like of them. The Court did pause a while at it, whereupon she said that she had Mr. *Willson* notes of that conference, which were otherwise then they had related: the Court willed her to shew them, but her answer was, shee had left them at home: whereupon Mr. *Willson* (with the leave of the Court) said, that if shee brought forth his notes, they should finde written at the foote of them, that shee had not written down all that was spoken, but being often interrupted, shee had omitted divers passages; then shee appealed to Mr. *Cotton*, who being called, and desired to declare what hee remembered of her speeches, said, that hee remembered onely that which took impresson on him, for hee was much grieved that shee should make such comparisson between him and his brethren, but yet hee took her meaning to bee only of a graduall difference, when shee said that they did not hold such a Covenant of free Grace, as hee did, for shee likened them to Christs Disciples, and their ministry, before his ascension, and before the Holy Ghost was come down upon them; and when shee was asked by some of them, why they could not preach a Covenant of Free Grace, shee made answer, because they had not the Seale of the Spirit: upon this the Court willed her to consider, that Mr. *Cotton* did in a manner agree with the testimony of the rest of the Elders; and as hee remembered onely so much as at present took most impresson in him, so the rest of the Elders had reason to remember some other passages, which hee might not heare, or not so much observe as they whom it so neerly and properly concerned; All this would not satisfie Mistris *Hutchinson*, but shee still called to have them sworn, whereupon the Court being weary of the clamour, and that all mowthes might bee stopped, required three of the Ministers to take an oath, and thereupon they confirmed their former testimony.

Upon this shee began to speak her minde, and to tell of the manner of Gods dealing with her, and how hee revealed himselfe to her, and made her know what shee had to doe: The Goyernour perceiving whereabout shee went, interrupted her, and would have kept her to the matter in hand, but seeing her very unwilling to bee taken off, he permitted her to proceed. Her speech was to this effect.

Mistris *Hutchinson*.

When I was in old England, I was much troubled at the constitution of the Churches there, so faire, as I was ready to have joyned to the Separation, whereupon I set apart a day for humiliation by my selfe, to seek direction from God, and then did God discover unto mee the unfaithfulnesse of the Churches, and the danger of them, and that none of those Ministers could Preach the Lord Jesus aright, for hee had brought to my mind, that in the 1 *John* 4.3. Every spirit that confesseth not, that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is the spirit of Antichrist; I marvelled what this should meane, for I knew that neither Protestants nor Papists did deny that Christ was come in the flesh; and are the

Turkes then the onely Antichrists? Now I had none to open the Scripture to me, but the Lord, he must be the Prophet, then he brought to my mind another Scripture, He that denies the Testament, denies the death of the Testator, from whence the Lord did let me see, that every one that did not preach the New-Covenant, denies the death of the Testator; then it was revealed to me that the Ministers of England were these Antichrists, but I knew not how to beare this, I did in my heart rise up against it, then I begged of the Lord that this Atheisme might not bee in my heart: after I had begged this light, a twelve moneth together, at last he let me see how I did oppose Christ Jesus, and hee revealed to mee that place in *Ez* 4. 12, 13. and from thence shewed me the Atheisme of my own heart, and how I did turne in upon a Covenant of workes; and did oppose Christ Jesus; from which time the Lord did discover to me all sorts of Ministers, and how they taught, and to know what voice I heard, which was the voice of *Moses*, which of *John Baptist*, and which of *Christ*; the voice of my beloved, from the voice of strangers; and thenceforth I was the more carefull whom I heard, for after our teacher Mr. *Cotton*, and my brother *Wheelwright* were put downe, there was none in England that I durst heare. Then it pleased God to reveale himself to me in that of *Ez* 3. 30, 30. Though the Lord give thee the bread of adversity, &c. yet thine eyes shall see thy teachers; after this the Lord carrying Mr. *Cotton* to *New-England* (at which I was much troubled) it was revealed to me, that I must goe thither also, and that there I should be persecuted, and suffer much trouble. I will give you another Scripture, *Jer* 46. I feare not *Jacob* my Servant, for I am with thee; I will make a full end of all the Nations, &c. then the Lord did reveale himself to me, sitting upon a Throne of Justice, and all the world appearing before him, and though I must come to *New-England*, yet I must not feare nor be dismayed. The Lord brought another Scripture to me, *Ez* 8. 9. The Lord spake this to the with a strong hand, and instructed me that I should not walke in the way of this people, &c. I will give you one place more which the Lord brought to mee by immediate revelations, and that doth concerne you all, it is in *Dan* 6. When the Presidents and Princes could find nothing against him, because hee was faithfull, they sought matter against him concerning the Law of his God, to cast him into the Lions den; so it was revealed to mee, that they should plot against mee, but the Lord bid me not to feare, for he that delivered *Danish* and the three children, his hand was not shortened. And see this Scripture fulfilled this day in mine eyes, therefore take heed what yee goe about to doe unto me, for you have no power over my body, neither can you doe me any harme, for I am in the hands of the eternall Jehovah my Saviour, I am at his appointment, the bounds of my habitation are cast in Heaven, no further doe I esteeme of any mortall man, then creatures in his hand, I feare none but the great Jehovah, which hath foretold me of these things; and I doe verily beleieve that hee will deliver me out of your hands, therefore take heed how you proceed against me; for I know that for this you goe about to doe to me, God will ruine you and your posterity, and this whole State.

When

When she had thus vented her mind, the Court demanded of her, how she expected to be delivered, whether by miracle as *Daniel* was, to which she answered, yes, by miracle as *Daniel* was: Being further demanded how she did know that it was God that did reveale these things to her, and not Satan? She answered, how did *Abraham* know that it was the voyce of God, when he commanded him to sacrifice his sonne?

Mr. *Cotton* being present, and desired by the Court to deliver his judgement about Mistris *Hutchison* her Revelations, answered, there be two sorts of Revelations, some are without and besides Scripture, those I looke at as Satanicall and tending to much danger, other are such as the Apostle speaks of, *Ephe. 1.* where he prayeth for a spirit of revelation to be given them, those are never dispensed but according to the word of God; though the word revelation be uncouth, yet in Scripture sense I thinke it not lawfull so to expresse it, and when ever it comes, it comes with the Ministry of the word. Being againe desired to expresse himselfe particularly concerning her revelations, he demanded of her (by the leave of the Court) whether by a miracle she doth meane a worke beyond the power of nature, or onely above common providence? for if (as you say) you expect deliverance from this Court beyond the power of nature, then I should suspect such a revelation to be false. To this she answered, you know when it comes, God doth not describe the way. Mr. *Cotton* asked her againe, whether (when she said she should be delivered) she meant a deliverance from the sentence of the Court, or from the calamity of it? She answered yea, from the calamity of it. Mistris *Hutchison* having thus freely and fully discovered herselfe, the Court and all rest of the Assembly (except those of her owne party) did observe a speciall providence of God, that (while she went about to cover such offences as were laid to her charge, by putting matters upon prooffe, and then quarrelling with the evidence) her owne mouth should deliver her into the power of the Court, as guilty of that which all suspected her for, but were not furnished with prooffe sufficient to proceed against her; for here she hath manifested, that her opinions and practise have been the cause of all our disturbances, & that she walked by such a rule as cannot stand with the peace of any State; for such bottomlesse revelations, as either came without any word, or without the sense of the word, (which was framed to humane capacity) if they be allowed in one thing, must be admitted a rule in all things; for they being above reason and Scripture, they are not subject to controll: Againe, she hath given a reason why she hath so much slighted the faithfull ministers of Christ here, why? it was revealed to her long since in *England*, that all the packe of them were Antichristians, so as she durst heare none of them, after Mr. *Cotton* and Mr. *Wheelwright* were once gone, for they could not preach Christ and the new Covenant (as she affirms,) why, but they did preach somewhat, and if they could not hold forth Christ in a Covenant of Free-grace, then must they needs hold him forth in a Covenant

of workes, then are they not able Ministers of the New Testament, nor sealed by the Spirit, for the servants of God, who are come over into *New England*, do not thinke themselves more spirituall then other of their brethren whom they have left behind, nor that they can or doe hold forth the Lord Jesus Christ in their ministry, more truly then he was held forth in *England*, and seeing their ministry was a most precious sweete savour to all the Saints before thee came hither, it is easie to discern from what sinke that ill vapour hath risen, which hath made so many of her seduced party to loath now the smell of those flowers which they were wont to find sweetnesse in: yet this is not all (though it be too too vile) she can fetch a revelation that shall reach the Magistrates and the whole Court, and the succeeding generations, and she hath Scripture for it also, *Daniel* must be a type of *Mistris Hutchinson*, the Lion denne of the Court of justice, and the Presidents and Princes of the reverend Elders here, and all must sort to this conclusion, she must be delivered by miracle, and all wee must be ruined; See the impudent boldnesse of a proud dame, that *Ahab*-like makes havock of all that stand in the way of her ambitious spirit, she had boasted before that her opinions must prevale, neither could she endure a stop in her way, as appeared once upon a slight occasion when her reputation being a little touched upon mistake, yet so carried as she could not get the party upon what advantage which she expected, she vented her impatience with so fierce speech and countenance, as one would hardly have guessed her to have been an Antitype of *Daniel*, but rather of the Lions after they were let loose. The like appeared in her, when she could not have her will against her faithfull Pastor for his opposing her opinions, as she apprehended, so as neither reason, nor Scripture, nor the judgement and example of such as she revered could appease her displeasure. So that the Court did clearly discern, where the fountain was of all our distempers, and the Tragedy of *Munster* (to such as had read it) gave just occasion to feare the danger we were in, seeing (by the judgement of *Luther* writing of those troublous times) we had not to doe with so simple a Devill, as managed that businesse, and therefore he had the lesse feare of him, but Satan seemed to have commission now to use his utmost cunning to undermine the Kingdome of Christ here (as the same *Luther* foretold, he would doe, when he should interprize any such innovation under the cleare light of the Gospel,) so as the like hath not bene knowne in former ages, that ever so many wise, sober, and well grounded Christians, should so suddenly be seduced by the wiles of a woman, to sticke so fast to her, even in some things wherein the whole current of Scripture goeth against them, and notwithstanding that her opinions and practise have bene so grosse in some Particulars, as their knowledge and sincerity would not suffer them to approve, yet such interest hath she gotten in their hearts, as they seeke cloakes to cover the nakednesse of such deformities, as in the meane time they are ashamed to behold.

The Court saw now an inevitable necessity to rid her away, except wee would be guilty, not onely of our owne ruine, but also of the Gospel: so in the end the sentence of banishment was pronounced against her, and she was committed to the Marshall, till the Court should dispose of her.

Another day, Capraine *John Underhill* was sent for, and being charged with joining in the said Petition, acknowledged the same, professing that hee could see no fault in it: being demanded a rule by which he might take so much upon him, as publickly to contradict the sentence of the Court, &c. hee alledged the example of *Joab* his rough speech to *David*, when he retired himself for *Absolons* death, and that *David* did not reprove him for it. To this the Court answered.

First, That *Joab* was then in the matters of his owne calling, and being Generall of the Army, had liberty by his place to give advice to the King in causes of that nature, but when he failed in the manner of his speech, therein he is not to be excused, and therefore not to be followed.

Secondly, *Joab* did not contradict or reprove any Judiciall sentence of the King, but onely an inordinate passion.

Thirdly, he was occasioned by an urgent necessity of the safety of the King and State.

Fourthly, that which he spake was in private, for the King had withdrawn himselfe.

Fifthly, it appeares that *David* did take it as a great miscarriage, for he presently displaced him.

Againe, in our cause, the Captain was but a private man, and had no calling to deale in the affaires of the Court, therefore no warrant from hence. Hee insisted much upon the liberty which all States doe allow to *Military* Officers, for free speech, &c. and that himselfe had spoken sometimes as freely to Count *Nassau*.

But it was answered, wee are not to looke at what some doe tolerate, but what is lawfull, and there may be a reason of State, to connive at that disorder at some season, which may not with honour and safety be permitted as another.

Being further demanded how they came so many of them, to bee so suddenly agreed in so weighty and doubtfull a case, hee answered, that many of them being present when Mr. *Wheelwright* was convicted of sedition, they were sore grieved at it, and suddenly rushing out of the Court, a strange motion came into all their minds, so as they said (in a manner altogether) Come let us Petition, and for his part, from that time to this, his conscience which then led him to it, will not suffer him to retract it.

The Court pitied him much, and were grieved at his obstinacy, that when all his arguments were taken away, hee had no defence left, hee would yet maintaine a bad cause by the light of a deluded conscience, and withall they tooke notice how these un-rouned revelations began to worke, and what dangerous consequences were like to follow of them, when so many persons upon such a

Sudden motion had no scruple to enterprize such a seditious action, nor can be brought by any light of reason or Scripture, to see their error; so the Court (when they saw no other remedy) disfranchised him, and discharged him of his place, but allowed him his quarters meanes.

There were divers who were not present when that sudden motion or revelation first set the Petition on foot, but were drawn in after, who soon found their error; and did as freely acknowledge it, and desired to have their names put out of it, which was easily granted, and their offence with a loving admonition remitted.

It had been observed a good time since, that some of the leaders of this factious (by occasion of new Disciples, being inquisitive about their tenents) would let fall these answers, I have many things to tell you, but you cannot beare them now; and there is a great light to breake forth, if men doe not resist it, and you shall see the bottom hereafter; and one of them reproved the rest, telling them that they had spoiled their cause, by being over hasty, and too open, &c. And now it began to appeare, what their meaning were, for after *Mistress Hutchison* had discovered the secret by her speech in the Court, then others opened their mindes, and professedly maintained these Enthusiasmes as the Oracles of God. And that such revelations as *Abraham* had to kill his Son, and as *Paul* had in the Ship, and when he was caught up into the third heaven, &c. were ordinary, so that *Mr. Cotton* took notice of the danger of them, and publikely confuted them in diverse Sermons. Among other like passages there was one that fell out at *Mr. Wheelwright's* farewell to those whom he used to Preach unto at the Mount.

One of his owne Scholars told him openly, that hee had Preached Anti-christianisme, and had set up a Christ against a Christ; the same party maintained immediate Revelations, without any word at all, saying, that the free promises were onely for those under the Law, but wee are to looke for all our assurance by immediate Revelation, and that in the New Testament there are no signes, no not our Baptisme, for the baptisme of water is of no use to us when once wee are baptized with the Holy Ghost: hee said also that a man might bee adopted and not justified, and that every new creature is as a dead lump, not acting at all, but as Christ acts in him, and denyed all inherent righteousness, and that the Commandements were a dead Letter. These things were so grosse, as *Mr. Wheelwright* could not but contradict him, yet hee did it so tenderly, as might well discover his neere agreement in the points, though his wisdom served him to bee more reserved till a fitter season; for that poore man being newly come on to the profession of Religion, must needs learne those points of *Mr. Wheelwright* or draw them as necessary consequences from some of his tenents: And it is frequently found to be an effect of all unsound and unsafe doctrines, that still the Scholar goes a step further then his Teacher. So it hath proved in former times, *Luther*, and no doubt many of those who did imbrace his errors, in the first edition of them, yet lived and dyed in the true faith of Christ,

Christ, but the succeeding generations (inheriting those erroneous tenets, which they had drawne from their godly forefathers, but not their godliness) proved hereticks and schismatics to this day. So it hath been in the Churches of *Rome*, and others, and so wee may justly feare in these Churches in *New-England*, howsoever that many that now adhere to these Familistickall opinions, are indeed truly godly, and (no doubt) shall persevere so to the end, yet the next generation, which shall be trained up under such doctrines, will be in great danger to prove plaine Familists and Schismatics. This discovery of a new rule of practice by immediate revelations, and the consideration of such dangerous consequences, which have and might follow thereof, occasioned the Court to disarme all such of that party, as had their hands to the petition, and some others, who had openly defended the same, except they should give satisfaction to the Magistrats therein; which some presently did, others made a great question about it; for bringing in their arms, but they were too weak to stand it out.

Thus it pleased the Lord to heare the prayers of his afflicted people (whose soules had wept in secret for the reproach that was cast upon the Churches of the Lord Jesus in this Countrey, by occasion of the divisions which were grown amongst us, through the vanity of some weake minds, which cannot seriously affect any thing long, except it bee offered them under some renewed shape) and by the care and endeavour of the wise and faithfull Ministers of the Churches, assisted by the Civill authority to discover this Master-piece of the old Serpent, and to breake the brood by scattering the Leaders, under whose conduct he had prepared such Ambushment, as in all reason would soone have driven Christ and Gospel out of *New-England* (though to the ruine of the instruments themselves, as well as others) and to the re-possessing of Satan in his ancient Kingdome; It is the Lords worke, and it is marvillous in our eyes. Mr. *Wheel* is now gone to *Pascal*, *Mistress Hutchison* is confined in a private house, till the season of the yeere shall be fit for her departure, some of those whom God hath left to bee most strongly deluded, are preparing to follow them, and wee hope the Lord will open the eyes of the rest, and perswade them to joine againe with their sometime deare and most beloved brethren, that peace and truth may again flourish in *New-England*; Amen.

After the Court had thus proceeded, some of the Churches dealt with such of their members as were found guilty of these erroneous and seditious practices, the Church at *Roxbury* (after much paines and patience to reduce them) excommunicated five or six; and the Church of *Boston*, by the solicitation of some of the Elders of the other Churches, proceeded against *Mistress Hutchison*, the manner and issue whereof is set down in the next.

A T *Boston* in *New-England*, upon the 17. day of *October*, 1637. the wife of one *William Dyer*, sometimes a Citizen & Millener of *London*, a very proper
H 3 and

and comely young woman, was delivered of a large woman childe, it was still-borne, about two months before her time, the childe having life a few hours before the delivery, but so monstrosous and mis-shapen, as the like hath scarce been heard of: it had no head, but a face, which stood so low upon the breast, as the eares (which were like an Apes) grew upon the shoulders.

The eyes stood farre out, so did the mouth, the nose was hooking upward, the breast and back was full of sharp prickles, like a Thornback, the navell and all the belly with the distinction of the sex, were, where the lower part of the back and hips should have been, and those back parts were on the side the face stood.

The armes and hands, with the thighs and legges, were as other childrens, but instead of toes, it had upon each foot three claws, with talons like a young fowle.

Upon the back, above the belly, it had two great holes, like mouthes, and in each of them stuck out a piece of flesh.

It had no forehead, but in the place thereof, above the eyes, foure hornes, whereof two were above an inch long, hard, and sharpe, the other two were somewhat shorter.

Many things were observable in the birth and discovery of this Monster.

1. The Father and Mother were of the highest forme of our refined Familists, and very active in maintaining their party, and in reproaching some of the Elders, and others, who did oppose those errors.

2. The Midwife, one *Hawkins* wife of *St. Ives*, was notorious for familiarity with the Devill, and now a prime Familist.

3. This Monster was concealed by three persons above five moneths.

4. The occasion of concealing it was very strange, for most of the women who were present at the womans travaile, were suddenly taken with such a violent vomiting, and purging, without eating or drinking of any thing, as they were forced to goe home, others had their children taken with convulsions, (which they had not before, nor since) and so were sent for home, so as none were left at the time of the birth, but the Midwife and two other, whereof one fell asleepe.

5. At such time as the childe died (which was about two houres before the birth) the bed wherein the mother lay, shooke so violently, as all which were in the roome perceived it.

6. The after birth wherein the child was, had prickles on the inside like those on the child's brest.

7. The manner of the discovery was very strange also, for it was that very day *Mistress Hutchison* was cast out of the Church for her monstrosous errors, and notorious falsehood, for being commanded to depart the Assembly, *Mistress Dyer* accompanied her, which a Stranger observing, asked another what wo-

man that was, the other answered, it was the woman who had the Monster which one of the Church of *Dorset* hearing, enquired about it from one to another, and at length came to *Mistress Hutchison*, with one of the Elders of the Church, to whom she revealed the truth of the thing in generall only, this coming to the Governours eare, he called another of the Magistrates and sent for the Midwife, and (in the presence of the Elder, to whom *Mistress Hutchison* had revealed it) they examined her, who at first confessed it was a monstrous birth, but concealed the horns and claws, and some other parts, till being straitly charged, and told it should be taken up, and viewed, then she confessed all, yet for further assurance, the child was taken up, and though it were much corrupted, yet the horns, and claws, and holes in the back, and some scales, &c. were found and seen of above a hundred persons.

8. The Father of this Monster, having beene forth of the Towne, about a moneth, and coming home just at this time, was upon the Lords day (by an unexpected occasion) called before the Church for some of his monstrous opinions, as that Christ and the Church together are the new Creature, there is no inherent righteousnesse in Christians, *Adam* was not made after Gods Image, &c. which he openly maintained, yet with such shuffling, and equivocating, as he came under admonition, &c.

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Briefe Apologie in defence of the generall proceedings of the Court, holden at Boston the ninth day of the first moneth, 1636. against Mr. *J. Wheelwright* a member there, by occasion of a Sermon delivered there in the same Congregation.

INASMUCH as some of the Members of the Court (both of the Magistrates and Deputies) did dissent from the major part, in the judgement of the cause of Mr. *Wheelwright*, and divers others have since censured the proceedings against him as unjust, or (at best) over hasty, for maintaining of which censures, many untruths are like to be spread abroad, whereby the most equall Judges may bee in danger of prejudice; and so the honour not of the Court only, but also of the tryall and justice it selfe may bee blemished: It is thought needfull to make this publike Declaration of all the proceedings, with the reasons and grounds thereof, so farre as concerneth the clearing of the justice of the Court. As for such passages as fell by occasion, and are too large to bee here inserted, such as desire to know them, may receive satisfaction from three or foure of *Boston* (being Mr. *Wheelwright* his speciall friends) who tooke all by Characters (wee doubt not) will give a true report thereof; As for such as have taken offence, that the cause was not first referred to the Church, we desire them to consider these reasons.

1. This case was not matter of conscience, but of a civill nature, and therefore most proper for this Court, to take Cognizance of, and the rather for the speciall contempt which had been offered to the Court therein, and which the Church could not judge of. 2. In some cases of religious nature, as manifested heresie, notorious blasphemy, &c. the Civill power may proceed, *Ecclesiastica inconsulta*, and that by the judgement of all the Ministers. 3. It had been a vaine thing to referre a cause to the judgement of those who had openly declared their prejudice therein, both in the Court and otherwise, as by two Petitions under the hands of most of them, delivered into the Court on his behalfe, did plainly appeare. 4. The heat of contention and uncharitable censures which began to overspread the Countrey, and that chiefly by occasion of that Sermon, and the like miscarriages, did require that the Civill power should

should speedily allay that heat, and bears witness against all sedition tending to the overthrow of truth and peace amongst us, this only by way of entrance to the matter which now followeth.

In the beginning of the Court, the Deputies upon the same of a Sermon delivered by Mr. *Wheelwright* (upon the first day) which was supposed to tend to sedition, and disturbance of the publike peace, desired that hee might bee sent for, which the Court assenting unto, one of the Magistrates (his speciall friend) undertooke to give him notice thereof, and accordingly at the next meeting hee was in the Towne, ready to appeare, when hee should bee called for, which was not till two or three dayes after, and then he was sent for (not by the Magistrate, as the usuall manner is; but) by one of the Deputies his intimate friend; upon his appearance hee was made acquainted with the cause why hee was sent for, viz. To satisfie the Court about some passages in his Sermon, which seemed to bee offensive, and therewith a copy of it was produced, and he was demanded whether he would owne it, whereupon he drew forth another copy which he delivered into the Court, as a true copy, (for the substance of it) so hee was dismissed very gently, and desired to be ready when he should be called for againe.

The next day he was againe sent for by the former messenger: About this time a Petition was delivered into the Court, under the hands of above forty persons, being most of the Church of Boston (being none of the Petitioners before mentioned which were delivered after) to this effect; that as free men they might bee admitted to be present in the Court in causes of Judicature, and that the Court would declare whether they might proceed in cases of Conscience, without referring them first to the Church. To this the Court answered on the backside of the Petition, that they did conceive the Petition was without just ground, for the first part of it, the Court had never used any privacy in Judiciall proceedings, but in preparation thereto by way of examination of the party, &c. they might and would use their liberty, as they should see cause; and for the other part of the Petition, when any matter of conscience should come before them, they would advise what were fit to be done in it.

When Mr. *Wheelwright* came in, the Court was private; and then they told him they had considered of his Sermon, and were desirous to aske him some questions which might tend to cleare his meaning, about such passages therein as seemed offensive; hee demanded whether he were sent for as an innocent person, or as guilty? It was answered neither, but as suspected onely. Then hee demanded who were his accusers? It was answered, his Sermon; (which was there in Court) being acknowledged by himselfe they might thereupon proceed, *ex Officio*: at this word great exception was taken, as if the Court intended the course of the High Commission, &c. It was answered that the word *ex Officio* was very safe and proper, signifying no more but the Authority or duty of the Court: and that there was no cause of offence, seeing the Court did not examine him by any compulsory meanes, as by oath, imprisonment,

or the like, but onely desired him for better satisfaction to answer some questions, but hee still refused, yet at last through perswasion of some of his friends, hee seemed content; The question then put to him was, whether before his Sermon hee did not know, that most of the Ministers in this jurisdiction did teach that doctrine which hee in his Sermon called a Covenant of works, to this he said, he did not desire to answer, and whereupon some cryed out, that the Court went about to ensnare him; and to make him to accuse himselfe, and that this question was not about the matter of his Sermon, &c. Upon this hee refused to answer any further, so hee was dismissed till the afternoon; The reason why the Court demanded that question of him, was not to draw matter from himselfe whereupon to proceed against him, neither was there any need, for upon a conference of the Ministers not long before there had been large disputes between some of them and himself about that point of evidencing Justification by Sanctification; so as the Court might soon have convinced him by witness, if they had intended to proceed against him upon that ground.

In the afternoone he was sent for againe in the same manner as before, and the Ministers also being in the Towne, and come hither to conferre together for further discovery of the ground of the differences which were in the Country about the Covenant of grace, &c. they were desired to be present also at the Court, to beare witness of the proceedings in the case, and to give their advice as the Court (upon occasion) should require: so the doores being set open for all that would to come in (and there was a great Assembly) and Mr. *Whitwright* being willing to sit downe by the Ministers, his Sermon was produced, and many passages thereof was read to him, which for the better understanding we have digested into this order following.

He therein describeth two Covenants, the Covenant of Grace, and the Covenant of Workes; the Covenant of Grace hee described to bee, when in the point of Justification, and the knowledge of this our Justification by faith, there is nothing revealed but Christ Jesus, but if men thinke to be saved, because they see some works of sanctification in themselves, as hungering and thirsting, &c. this is a Covenant of works; if men have revealed to them some work of righteousness, as love to the brethren, &c. and hereupon come to be assured that they are in a good estate, this is not the assurance of Faith, for Faith hath Christ revealed for the object, therefore if the assurance of a mans Justification be by faith, as a Work, it is not Gospel.

Having thus described those who goe under a Covenant of Workes, hee pronounceth them to be enemies to Christ, to bee Antichrists, to bee flesh opposed to spirit; such as will certainly persecute those who hold forth the truth, and the wayes of Grace, hee resembleth them to the Philistims, who stop up with the earth of their owne inventions, the Wells of true beleivers; he resembleth them also to *Herod*, who would have killed Christ so soone as hee was borne, and to *Herod* and *Pilate* who did kill Christ when hee came once to the
forth.

forth himselfe, and would have kept him eternally in the grave; he further describeth them out of the second Psalm, to bee the people of God, as the Jews were, and such as would take away the true Christ, and put in false Christs, so deceive if it were possible the very elect; he also describeth them by that in *Gen.* 10. 6. they make the children of Grace, keepers of the Vineyard, they make them travell under the burden of the Covenant of Works, which doth cast Christ many times from them. He commeth after to a use of exhortation, wherein he stirreth up all those of his side to a spirituall combat, to prepare for himselfe and come out and fight against the enemies of the Lord, (those under a Covenant of works) he shews whom he meaneth thus to excite, alluding to *David's* valliant men, to *Baruch*, *Deborah*, *Jael*, and all the men of *Israel*, and bind them hereunto under the curse of *Acher*. He further exhorteth them to stand upon their guard, &c. by alluding to the 600 valliant men, who kept watch about the last of *Samuyl* a type of Christ, then he encourageth those of his side against such distractions as might be objected, as 1. If the enemies shall oppose the way of God, they must lay the more load on them, and kill them with the word of the Lord, and there he alludeth to those places which speak of giving the Salvat. power over nations, binding Kings in chaines, and of threshing instruments with teeth, and bounde their flight by that in *Esa.* 21. 15. They shall flee from the sword, &c.

2. Though the enemies under a Covenant of Works be many and strong (as he confesseth they are) yet they ought not to feare, for the hand is in the Lord, this he inforceth by that in *Joh.* 23. 10. One of you shall chase a thousand, and that of *Judas* and his Armour-bearer.

3. Against tendernesse of heart which they might have towards such under a Covenant of work, as are exceeding holy and strict in their way, he encourageth his party by perswading them, that such are the greatest enemies to Christ; this he seekes to illustrate by resembling such in their zeale, to *Paul* when hee was a persecutor, and in their devotion to those who expelled *Paul* and *Barnabas* out of *Antioch*. He taketh it for granted, that these holy men trull in their righteousness, and that it churseth out the righteousness of Christ, and so concludes and foretels from *Ezek.* 33. They shall die, and their righteousness is accursed, yet they transforme themselves (saith he) in 10 Angels of light.

4. That his party might not feare lest he should breake the rule of meeknesse, &c. he bringeth in the example of *Stephen*, *Act.* 7. 58. and the example of Christ, *Joh.* 8. 44. and *Mat.* 23. 23.

5. To those who might feare, lest this strife should cause a combustion in Church and Common-wealth, hee answers and tels them plainly it will doe so, but yet to uphold their hearts, he armes them with the prediction of Christ, *Luke* 12. 49. and tels them that it is the desire of the Saints, that that fire were kindled, and with that in *Esa.* 9. 5. which hee interprets of *Michael* and the Angels, and with that in *Mal.* 4. 2. and by that in the *Revelation*, the Whore must be burnt.

Called them from against persecution, by exhorting them not to love their lives more than the Church, but bee willing to bee killed like sheepe, seeing it is impossible to hold forth the truth of God with externall peace and quietnesse: This he enforced by the example of *Sampson*, who slew more at his death then in his life.

These passages of his Sermon being openly read, Master *Wheelwright* did acknowledge and justify the same, and being demanded (either then or before) whether by those under a Covenant of works hee did meane any of the Ministers and other Christians in those Churches, he answered, that if he were shewed any that walked in such a way, as he had described to be a Covenant of Works, then he did meane. Here divers speeches passed up and down, whereof there was no speciall notice taken, as not materiall to the purpose in hand.

The Court proceeded also to examine some witnesses about another Sermon of his, whereat much offence had also been taken, and not without cause, (as appeared to the Court) for in that he seemed to scare men, not onely from legall righteousness, but even from faith and repentance, as if that also were a way of the Covenant of works, but this being matter of doctrine, the Court passed it by for the present, onely they (and the Ministers present, divers of them) declared their griefe to see such opinions risen in the Countrey of so dangerous consequence, and so directly crossing the scope of the Gospell, (as was conceived) and it was retorted upon him, which hee in his Sermon chargeth his adverse party with, (though uncharitably and untruly) when he saith they would take away the true Christ, that to make good such a doctrine as he held forth (to common intendment) must needs call for a new Christ, and a new Gospel, for since the old would not owne or justify it.

Then the Court propounded a question to the Ministers, which (because they desired time of consideration to make answer unto) was given them in writing upon the outside of Master *Wheelwrights* Sermon in these words; *Whether by that which you have heard concerning Master Wheelwrights Sermon, and that which was witnessed concerning him, yee doe conceive that the Ministers in this Countrey doe walke in, and teach such a way of Salvation and evidencing thereof, as he describeth, and account it to be a Covenant of works?* To this question (being againe called for into the Court the next morning) they returned an affirmative answer. In the very words of the question, adding withall, that they would not bee understood, that their doctrine and Master *Wheelwrights* about Justification, and Salvation, and evidencing thereof, did differ in all things, but onely in the point presented, and debated now in Court, and that of this their answer they were ready to give reasons when the Court should demand them, and that to this they all consented, except their brother the Teacher of *Boston*: After this (by leave of the Court) the Ministers all spake one by one in order, some more largely, laying open by solid arguments, and notorious examples, the great dangers that the Churches and Civill State were fallne into, by the differences which were grown amongst us in matters of Religion, offering them-

themselves withall to imploy all their studies to effect a reconciliation, and also their desires that Mr. *Wheeler* would bee with them, when they should meet for this purpose, and blaming his former strangeness as a possible cause of these differences of judgement. Others spake more briefly, but concurred with the former; and all of them (as they had occasion to speak to Mr. *Wheeler*, or to make mention of him) used him with all humanity and respect; what his carriage was towards them againe, those who were present may judge, as they saw cause.

The matters objected against Mr. *Wheeler*, being recollected, and put to the vote, the opinion of the Court was that hee had run into sedition and contempt of the Civill authority, which accordingly was recorded to the same effect, and hee was enjoyned to appeare at the next general Court to abide their further sentence herein. And whereas motion was made of injoyning him silence in the meane time, the Ministers were desired to deliver their advice what the Court might do in such a case: Their answer was, that they could not give a cleer resolution of the question at the present, but for Mr. *Wheeler*, they desired that the Court would rather refer him to the Church of B. to deale with him for that matter, which accordingly was done, and so hee was dismissed: such of the Magistrates and Deputies as had not concurred with the major part in the vote, (some of them) moved that the dissent might bee recorded, (but it was denyed) as a course never used in this or any such Court. Afterward they tendered a Protestation, which was also refused, because therein they had justified Mr. *Wheeler* as a faithfull Minister of the Lord Jesus, and condemned the Court for undue proceeding; but this was offered them, that if they would waite down the words of the record, and subscribe their dissent, without laying such aspersion upon the Court, it should bee received.

Although the simple narration of these proceedings might bee sufficient to justify the Court in what they have done, especially with these of this jurisdiction, who have taken notice of the passages in the generall Court in Decem. last, yet for satisfaction of others to whom this case may be otherwise presented by fame or misreport, wee will set down some grounds and reasons thereof, some whereof were expressed in the Court, and others (though not publickly insisted upon, yet) well conceived by some, as further motives to lead their judgements to do as they did.

And, 1. It is to bee observed, that the noted differences in point of Religion in the Churches here, are about the Covenant of works, in opposition to the Covenant of grace; in clearing whereof much dispute hath been, whether sanctification bee any evidence of justification.

2. That before Mr. *Wheeler* came into this Country (which is not yet two yeeres since) there was no strife (at least in publick observation) about that point.

3. That hee did know (as himselfe confessed) that divers of the Ministers here were not of his judgement in those points, and that the publishing of them

would cause disturbance in the Country, and yet hee would never conferre with the Ministers about them, that thereby hee might have gained them to his opinion, (if it had been the truth) or at least have manifested some care of the publick peace, which hee rather seemed to slight, when being demanded in the Court a reason of such his failing, hee answered that hee ought not to consult with flesh and blood, about the publishing of that truth which hee had received from God.

4. It was well known to him that the Magistrates and Deputies were very sensible of those differences, and studious of pacifying such minds as began to bee warme and apt to contention about them, and for this end at the said Court in *December*, (where these differences and alienations of mind through rash censures, &c. were sadly complained of) they had called in the Ministers, and (Mr. *Wheel* being present) had desired their advice for discovery of such dangers, as did threaten us hereby, and their help for preventing thereof, and it was then thought needfull, to appoint a solemne day of humiliation (as for other occasions more remote, so especially) for this which more neerly concerned us, and at this time this very point of evidencing justification by sanctification set into some debate, and Mr. *Wheel* being present spake nothing, though hee well deserved that the judgement of most of the Magistrates and neer all the Ministers closed with the affirmative.

5. That upon the said last (Mr. *Wheel* being desired by the Church to exercise as a private Brother, by way of Prophecy) when Mr. *Cotton* teaching in the afternoon out of *I/458,4* had shewed that it was not a fit work for a day of Fast, to move strife and debate, to provoke to contention, &c. but by all means to labour pacification and reconciliation, and therein had bestowed much time, and many forcible arguments, yet Mr. *Wheel*, speaking after him, caught as is here before mentioned, wholly omitting those particular occasions which the Court intended, nay rather reproving them, in teaching that the onely cause of Fasting, was the absence of Christ, &c. and so notwithstanding the occasion of the day, Mr. *Cotton* example, the intent of the Court for procuring peace, he stirred up the people to contention, and that with more then ordinary vehemency. Now if any man will equally weigh the proceedings of the Court and these observations together, wee hope it will appeare that Mr. *Wheelwright* was justly convict of sedition and contempt of authority, and such as have not leisure or will to compare them together, may onely read that which here followeth, and receive satisfaction thereby, carrying this along with them, that the acts of authority holding forth the face, and stamp of a divine sentence, should not bee lesse regarded then the actions of any private brother, which a good man will view on all foure sides before he judge them to bee evill.

Sedition and contempt are laid to his charge.

Sedition doth properly signifie a going aside to make a party, and is rightly described by the Poet, (for it is lawfull to fetch the meaning of words from humane

humane authority) *In magno populo cum sapia, coorta est seditio sanctorum animis*, the whence it doth appears that when the minds of the people being assembled are kindled or made fierce upon some suddain occasion, so as they fall to take part one against another, this is sedition; for when that *furor*, which doth arme ministers, is once kindled, the sedition is begun, though it come not to its perfection, till *facta est facta volunt*: Truly saith, *Seditio est, esse dissensionem omnium inter se, cum omnes alii in aliud*, when the people dissent in opinion and goe severall wayes.

Isidore saith, *Seditiosus est, qui dissensionem animorum facit & discordiam excitat*. He that sets mens minds at difference, and begets strife: And if we look into the Scripture, we shall find examples of sedition agreeing to these descriptions. The upstart moved by *Demetrius*, *Act. 19*. was sedition, yet he neither took up armes, nor perswaded others so to do, but only induced the minds of the people, and made them fierce against the Apostles, by telling them they were enemies to *Diana* of the *Ephesians*. *Korah* and his company moved a most dangerous sedition, yet they did not stir up the people to fight, only they went apart, and drew others to them against *Moses* and *Aaron*; here was nothing but words, and that by a Levite, who might speak by his place, but it cost more then words before it was pacified. Now in our present case, did not Mr. *Wheeler* make sides when he proclaimed all to be under a Covenant of works, who did not follow him (step by step) in his description of the Covenant of Grace? did he not make himselfe a party on the other side, by often using these and the like words, *We, us*? Did hee not labour to heat the minds of the people, and to make them fierce against those of that side, which hee opposed (and whereof he knew that most of the Magistrates and Ministers had declared themselves) when with the greatell fervency of spirit & voice, he proclaims them Antichrists, enemies, *Philistines*, *Herod*, *Pilate*, persecuting Jews, and stirred up them on his part to fight with them, to lay load on them, to burn them, to thresh them, to binde them in chaines and fetters, to kill them and vex their hearts, and that under the paine of the curse of *Moses*? *Tamen animis confectibus ira?* would one thinke that any heavenly spirit could have breathed so much anger, when an Angel would have given milder language to the devill himselfe? and all this without vouchsafing one argument to convince these enemies of their evill way, or one word of admonition or advice to themselves, to draw them out of danger. But it is objected, that he expressed his meaning to be of a spirituall fighting and killing, &c. with the sword of the spirit only. It is granted he did so, yet his instances of illustration, or rather inforcement, were of another nature, as of *Moses* killing the Egyptian in defence of his brother, *Sampson* losing his life with the *Philistines*, the fight of *Jonathan* and his Armour-bearer, and of *David*'s worthies, *Barne* and *Jael*, &c. these obtained their victories with swords and hammers, &c. And such are no spirituall weapons, so that if his intent were not to stirre up to open force and armes (neither doe wee suspect him of any such purpose, otherwise then by consequent) yet his reading and experi-

ence might have told him, how dangerous it is to heat peoples affections against their opposites; a mind inflamed with indignation (among some people) would have bin more apt to have drawn their swords by the authority of the examples hee held forth for the incouragement, then to have been kept to spirituall weapons by the restraining without cautions, such as cannot dispute for Christ with *Steen*, will bee ready to draw their swords for him, like *Peter*: for *firer arma ministras*, like him who when he could not by any sentence in the Bible confute an Heretick, could make use of the whole book to break his head; wee might hold forth instances more then enough. The wars in *Germany* for these hundred yeeres arose from dissensions in Religion, and though in the beginning of the contention, they drew out only the sword of the Spirit, yet it was soon changed into a sword of Steele; So was it among the confederate Cantons of *Helvetia*, which were so many Towns as neerly combined together, as ours here; so was it also in the *Netherlands* between the Orthodox and the *Arminians*; so hath it been between the *Calvinists* and *Lutherans*: In every place wee find that the contentions began first by disputations and Sermons, and when the minds of the people were once set on fire by reproachfull termes of incendiary spirits, they soone set to blows, and had alwayes a tragicall and bloody issue; And to clear this objection, Mr. *Wheel*. professed before hand, what hee looked for, viz. that his doctrine would cause combustions even in the Common-wealth, as well as in the Churches, which hee could not have feared if hee had supposed (as in charity hee well might) that those who were set over the people here in both States were indeed true Christians; yea, hee not only confesseth his expectation, but his earnest desire also of such combustions and disturbances, when hee saith that it is the Saints desire to have the fire kindled, as if hee were come among *Turks* or *Papists*, and not among the Churches of Christ, amongst whom *Paul* laboured to quench all fire of contention, but with the *Corinthians*, *Romans*, and *Galatians*, and wished that those were cut off who troubled them, setting a mark upon such as made division, and a note of a carnall mind: therefore this objection will not save him, his offence is yet without excuse, hee did intend to trouble our peace, and he hath effected it; therefore it was a contempt of that authority which required every man to study Peace and Truth, and therefore it was a seditious contempt, in that hee stirred up others, to joyn in the disturbance of that peace, which hee was bound by solemn Oath to preserve.

But here hee puts in a plea, that hee did take the only right way for Peace, by holding out the Lord Jesus Christ in the Covenant of free Grace, for without Christ there is no peace, but get Christ and wee have all.

To this wee reply, first, Wee would demand of him what hee accounts a holding forth a Covenant of Grace? for, saying that hee saith, this is a Covenant of Grace, that is a Covenant of Works, no man can discern any such thing by his proofes, for there is not any one argument in his Sermon, to convince the judgement that so it is, and if wee search the Scripture, wee find in the Old Testament

Tellment, *Jo. 1.* the Covenant of Grace to bee this, I will write my Law in their hearts, or, I will bee their God, &c. and in the New Testament, we find, *Hee* that believes in the Lord Jesus Christ, shall bee saved, and that is of Faith, that it might bee of grace; but other Covenant of Grace than these, or to the same effect, are not in our Bible.

Again, Though it bee true, that get Christ and wee have all in some respect, yet wee must remember him of what hee said with the same breath, *that* truth and eternall Peace cannot possibly stand together, how then would hee have us believe, that such a holding forth Christ should bring the desired Peace? This is somewhat like the Jewish *Cohen*, I will give to God, and hee shall help my Parents, or as when a poore man stands in need of such reliefe, as I might give him, instead thereof I pray to God to bleſſe him, and tell him that the bleſſing of God maketh rich, or, as I give a Lawyer's Fee to plead my cause, and to procure me Justice, and when the day of hearing comes, hee makes a long speech in commending the justice of the King, & perswading mee to get his favour, because he is the fountain of Justice; This is to reprove the wisdom of God, by looking that the supreme & first cause should produce all effects, without the use of subordinate and weaker causes and means, so a man should live out his full time by Gods decree only, without meat or medicine, the plea therefore will not hold, let us hear another story.

It is objected, that the Magistrates may not appoint a messenger of God, what hee should teach: admit so much, yet hee may limit him what hee may not teach. If he forbid him to teach heresy or sedition; *&c.* hee incurreth as well a contempt in teaching that which hee was forbidden, as sine in teaching that which is evill. Besides, every truth is not seasonable at all times; Christ told his Disciples that hee had many things to teach them, but they could not beare them then, *Jo. 16. 12.* and God giveth his Prophets the tongue of the learned, that they may know how to speake a word in season, *Isa. 54. 14.* and if for every thing there bee a season, then for every Doctrine, *Eccles. 3. 1.* The abolishing of the ceremonial Law was a Truth which the Apostles were to teach, yet there was a season when *Paul* did refrain it, *Acts. 21. 24.* and the same *Paul* would not circumcise *Timothy*, though hee did *Timothy*, so the difference of persons and places, made a difference in the season of the Doctrine; and if *Mr. Wheelwright* had looked upon the words which followed in the Text, *Matth. 9. 16, 17.* hee might have learned, that such a Sermon would as ill suite the season, as old bottles doe new Wine, and by that in *Essay* before mentioned, hee might have had known the Spirit of God doth teach his servants to discern of seasons, as well as of truths; for if there bee such a point in wisdom as men call discretion, sure, Religion (which maketh truly wise) doth not deprive the servants of God of the right use thereof. When *Paul* was to deale with the forcerer, who did oppose his Doctrine, *Acts. 13.* hee calls him the child of the devill, &c. but when hee answered *Festus*, (who told him hee was madde, and rejected his doctrine also) hee useth him gently, and with termes of ho-

considerable. Though *Saul* calls the Jews his enemies, and of uncircumcised hearts, yet knowing them to be malicious and obstinate enemies to Christ, yet he directed *Timothy* (being to deal with such as were not past hope, though they did oppose his Doctrine for the present) not to strive, but to use all gentleness, instructing them with meekness, &c. 1 *Tim.* 2. The Prophet *Elijah* when he speaks to *Jehoram* very roughly, as one not worthy to be looked at, yet he shows a different respect of *Jehoshaphat*, though hee were then out of his way, and under a sin, for which he had been formerly reprov'd, 2 *King.* 3. Christ himselfe, though he sharply reproveth the Pharisees, &c. yet hee instructeth *Nicodemus* gently, when he objected against his doctrine, and that somewhat rudely, *Job.* 3. The Apostles would not forbear to Preach Christ, though Rulers scolded them, *Act.* 3. yet another Prophet forbore at another season at the command of King *Ahasia*, 1 *Chron.* 25. so wee see that this plea of Mr. *Wheelwright* is as weak as the former, and will not excuse him from contempe.

If he yet objected, that his Sermon was not all for contention, seeing hee called and pressed an use of brotherly love, we grant he did so, but it was *ex adverso* *sermone*, a loafe of the same leaven with the other, for hee applyeth it to those of his own party, to perswade them to hold together, and help one another against those of the other party, whom he setteth forth as their opposites, and encourageth them thereto by the example of *Moses*, who in love to his brother killed the Egyptian.

A further objection hath been made against the proceedings of the Court, as if Mr. *Wheelwright* had not a lawfull tryall, as not being put upon a Jury of freemen. But the answer to this is easie, it being well known to all such as have understanding of matters of this nature, that such Courts as have power to make and abrogate Lawes, are tyed to no other Orders, but their owne, and to no other rule but Truth and Justice, and why thrice twelve men sitting as Judges in a Court, should be more subject to partiality then twelve such called as a Jury to the Barre, let others judge.

Now if some shall gather from that which is here before mentioned, viz. that every truth is not seasonable at all times, if wee shall grant that what Master *Wheelwright* delivered was the truth, wee must desire him to take onely so much as wee granted, viz. by way of supposition onely; for letting passe (as wee said) such points as were merely doctrinall, and not ripe for the Court (depending as yet in examination among the Elders) wee may safely deny that those speeches were truths, which the Court censured for contempt and sedition, for a brother may fall so farre into disobedience to the Gospel, as there may be cause to separate from him, and to put him to shame, and yet hee is not to be accounted an enemy, 2 *Thess.* 3. Therefore when Mr. *Wheelwright* pronounced such (taking them at the worst hee could make them) to be enemies, &c. it was not according to the truth of the Gospel. Againe, to incense and heate mens minds against their brethren, before hee had convinced or admonished

monished them, as being in an estate of enmity, &c. is as far from being any truth of the Gospel, so likewise to bring extraordinary examples for ordinary rules, as of *John 8. 44.* to incite his party to the like proceedings, such whose hearts they cannot judge of, as Christ could of theirs, upon whom his spake, is as farre from the rule prescribed to ordinary Ministers, *1 Tim. 2. 15.* and to all Christians, *Gal. 6. 2.* and *1 Tim. 3. 17.* as that example of *David* (by which the Apostles would have called for fire from Heaven upon the Samaritans) was different from the spirit whereof they were: so to resemble such among us, as profess their faith in Christ onely, &c. and are in Church fellowship, and walke inoffensively, submitting to all the Lords Ordinances in Church and Common-wealth, to resemble such to branded Reprobates, and arch-enemies of Christ, such as *Herod*, &c. we suppose hath no warrant of Truth. We might instance in other like passages, as his ordinary tackling of spirituall combates, by examples of bodily fight, and bloody victories, (being very unsuitable) but these may suffice to prove that all hee spake was not true; and by this is the offence more aggravated, for if it were seditious onely in the manner, it must needs be much worse, when the matter itself also was untrue.

But if any shall yet pretend want of satisfaction, by all that hath been produced, (for indeed it is beyond reason, how farre prejudice hath prevailed to captivate some judgements, otherwise godly and wise) and shall object further, that his doctrines, &c. were generall, and so could not bee intended of any particular persons, we desire such, first to remember what application Mr. *Wheeler* made of the same in the open Court, viz. That he did intend all such as walked in such a way. Then againe, let the case bee put in a reversed frame, some other had then taught, that all such as deny that sanctification (as it is held by the other party), is a good evidence of Justification, and that say or have their assurance by faith, as a work of God in them, have it in the way of the Gospel, that these were enemies to Christ, &c. Persecutors of the way of grace, &c. and should have stirred up others against them, with like arguments, and vehemency, as Mr. *Wheeler* did, there is no doubt but Mr. *Wheeler*, and others of his opinion, would soon have pointed out those who must necessarily have been intended by it: for it is well known that some proper adjunct, or some noted circumstance may design a particular person or company, as well as names, so Christ points out *Judas* by the sop, *Paul* the Jews, by those of the circumcision, and the Antichrist, by That man of sin, &c.

But we meet yet with another objection, viz. that disturbance of unity is not sedition, except it also lead to the hurt & facility.

To this we answer, first, that if it tend immediately to such hurt, we deny the truth of the Proposition; for if in the time of famine, a man should stirre up the people to fetch Corn out of the houses of such as had it to spare, this were to an immediate publick good, yet it were sedition. If *Jeremy* (when hee taught the Jews, that they ought to set free their Hebrew Servants) had also

I aimed the Arguments to free themselves, this had not been free from sedition; yet it had not been against publick utility; But they alledge the Examples of *Jehoiada*, who caused a disturbance, yet without sedition; we answer, that case was very unlike to ours, for *Jehoiada* being High Priest, was also protector of the true King, and so chiefe Governour of the Civill State, and *Abiab* being a wicked usurper, hee did no other, then if a Lawfull King should assemble his Subjects to apprehend a Rebelle, and though a Prince or Governour may call a *plum* to suppress or withstand publike enemies, or other evils, yet it doth not follow that a private man, or a Minister of the Gospel may doe the like: we read; *Nehem.* 1. 7. that hee raised a great Assembly against those who did oppress their brethren, but we read not that *Esa* did so, upon the disorders which hee complained of, and yet that which hee did in assembling of the people, for redresse, &c. was by authority and counsell of the Nobles, *Esa.* 10. 8.

That this course of *Mr. Wheelwright*, did tend directly to the great hinderance of publick utility: for when brethren shall look one at another as enemies and persecutors, &c. and when people shall look at their Rulers and Ministers as such, and as those who goe about to take Christ and Salvation from them, how shall they joine together in any publick Service? how shall they cohabite and trade together? how hardly will they submit to such Over-seers? how will it hinder all affaires in Courts, in Townes, in Families, in Vessels at Sea, &c. and what can more threaten the dissolution and ruine of Church and Commonwealth? Lastly, if it be alledged that such warlike termes are used by Christ and his Apostles in a spirituall sense, we deny it not, but we desire that the usuall manner of their applying them may also be considered; for *Paul* saith, *1 Cor.* 9. So fight I, &c. I beate downe my body, &c. *1 Tim.* 6. 12. Fight the good fight of faith, lay hold on eternall life, and *1 Pet.* 3. 11. and *Jam.* 4. 4. there is speech of the fight of our lusts; and *Eph.* 6. 12. hee bids them put on armour, but it is to resist the Devill, not flesh and blood, not to fight against their brethren, towards whom he forbids all bitterness and clamour, &c. *Eph.* 4. And when hee speakes of spirituall weapons, *2 Cor.* 10. he doth not draw them out against the persons of brethren, but against high thoughts and imaginations, &c. And if *Mr. Wheelwright* had found out any such among us, and planted his battery against them by sound Arguments, he had followed our Apostolike rule; Christ indeed threatneth to fight against the Nicholaitains with the sword of his mouth, and if *Mr. Wheelwright* had known any such here, as certainly as Christ knew those, he might have been justified by the example; otherwise not.

Therefore to conclude, seeing there bee of those who dissent from *Mr. Wheelwright* his doctrines, who have denied themselves for the love of Christ as far as he hath done, and will bee ready, (by Gods grace) to doe and suffer for the sake of Christ, and the honour of free Grace, as much as himselfe, for such to be possibly defamed, and held forth as enemies to the Lord Jesus, and persecutors

cassors like *Hired* and *Pharisees* and the uncircumcised heathen, he cannot proceed from a charitable mind, nor doth it favour of an Apostolike Gospel-like brotherly spirit.

Mistress Hutchinson being banished and confined, till the season of the year might bee fit, and safe for her departure; shee thought it now needlesse to conceale herself any longer, neither would Satan lose the opportunity of making choyce of so fit an instrument, so long as any hope remained to attain his malicious end in darkning the saving truth of the Lord *Jesus*, and disturbing the peace of his Churches. Therefore shee began now to discover at her mind to such as came to her so that her opinions came abroad, and began to take place among her old disciples, and now some of them raised up questions about the immortality of the soule, about the resurrection, about the morality of the Sabbath, and divers others, which the Elders finding to begin to appeare in some of their Churches, they took much pain (both in publick and private) to suppress, and following the same from one to another, the root of all was found to bee in *Mistress Hutchinson*; whereupon they resorted to her many times, labouring to convince her, but in vain; yet they resorted to her still, to the end they might either reclaim her from her errors, or that they might beare witness against them if occasion were. For in a meeting of the Magistrates & Elders, about suppressing these new spring errors, the Elders of *Boston* had declared their readinesse to deal with *Mistress Hutchinson* in a Church-way, if they had sufficient testimony: for though shee had maintained some of them sometimes before them, yet they thought it not so orderly to come in as witnesses; whereupon other of the Elders, and others collecting which they had heard from her own mouth at severall times, drew them into severall heads, and sent them to the Church of *Boston*, whereupon the Church (with leave of the Magistrates, because shee was a prisoner) sent for her to appeare upon a Lecture day, being the 15. of the first moneth, and though shee were at her own house in the Town, yet shee came not into the Assembly till the Sermon and Prayer were ended, (pretending bodily infirmity) when shee was come, one of the ruling Elders called her forth before the Assembly, (which was very great from all the parts of the Country) and telling her the cause why the Church had called her, read the severall heads, which were as followeth.

1. That the soules of all men (in regard of generation) are mortall like the beasts, *Eccles. 3. 8.*

2. That in regard of Christs purchase they are immortall, so that Christ hath purchased the soules of the wicked to eternall paine, and the soules of the elect to eternall peace.

3. Those who are united to Christ have in this life new bodies, and 2 bodies, *1 Cor. 6. 19.* she knows not how *Jesus Christ* should bee united to this our fleshy bodies.

4. Those who have union with Christ, shall not rise with the same fleshy bodies, *1 Cor. 15. 44.*

5. And that the resurrection mentioned there, and in *Jak 3. 28.* is not meant of the resurrection of the body, but of our union here and after this life.

6. That there are no created graces in the Saints after their union with Christ, but before there are, for Christ takes them out of their hands into his owne.

7. There are no created graces in the humane nature of Christ, but hee was only acted by the power of the God-head.

8. The Image of God wherein *Adam* was made, hee could see no Scripture to warrant that it consisted in holinesse, but conceived it to be in that he was made like to Christs manhood.

9. Shee had no Scripture to warrant that Christs manhood is now in Heaven, but the body of Christ is his Church.

10. Wee are united to Christ with the same union, that his humanity on earth was with the Deity, *Js. 17. 21.*

11. Shee conceived the Disciples before Christ his death were not converted, *Math. 18. 3.*

12. There is no evidence to bee had of our good estate, either from absolute or conditionall promises.

13. The Law is no rule of life to a Christian.

14. There is no Kingdome of Heaven in Scripture, but only Christ.

15. There is first engrafting into Christ before union, from which a man might fall away.

16. The first thing God reveals to assure us is our election.

17. That *Abraham* was not in a saving estate till the 22 chap. of *Gen* when hee offered *Isaac*, and saving the firmesse of Gods election, hee might have perished notwithstanding any work of grace that was wrought in him self, than *Abraham*.

18. That union to Christ is not by faith.

19. That all commands in the word are Law, and are not a way of life, and the command of faith is a Law, and therefore killeth; shee supposed it to be a Law from *Rom 3. 27.*

20. That there is no faith of Gods elect but assurance, there is no faith of dependence but such as an hypocrite may have and fall away from, proved *Jak 1. 5.* for by that shee said they are in Christ, but Christ is not in them.

21. That an hypocrite may have *Adams* righteousness and perish, and by that righteousness hee is bound to the Law, but in union with Christ, Christ comes into the man, and hee retains the seed, and dyeth, and then all manner of grace is in himself, but all in Christ.

22. There is no such thing as inherent righteousness.

23. Wee are not bound to the Law, no not as a rule of life.

24. Wee are dead to all acts in spirituall things, and are only acted by Christ.

25. Not being bound to the Law, it is not transgression against the Law to sin,

or break it, because our sins they are inward and spirituall, and so are exceeding sinfull, and onely against Christ.

26. Sanctification can bee no evidence at all of our good estate.

27. That her particular revelations about future events are as infallible as any part of Scripture, and that she is bound as much to beleve them, as the Scripture, for the same Holy Ghost is the author of them both.

28. That so farre as a man is in union with Christ, hee can doe no duties perfectly, and without the communion of the unregenerate part with the regenerate.

29. That such exhortations as these, to work out our Salvation with feare, to make our calling and election sure, &c. are spoken only to such, as are under a Covenant of works.

All which shee did acknowledge shee had spoken, (for a copy of them had been sent to her divers days before, and the witnesses hands subscribed, so as she saw it was in vain to deny them) when she asked by what rule such an Elder could come to her pretending to desire light, and indeed to intrap her, to which the same Elder answered that he had been twice with her, and that he told her indeed at St. Ives, that he had been troubled at some of her speeches in the Court, wherein he did desire to see light for the ground and meaning of them, but hee professed in the presence of th: Lord, that hee came not to intrap her, but in compassion to her Soule, to help her out of those snares of the devill, wherein he saw she was intangled, and that before his departure from her he did beare witnesse against her opinions, and against her spirit, and did leave it sadly upon her from the word of God; then presently she grew into passion against her Pastor for his speech against her at the Court after the sentence was passed, which hee gave a full answer unto, shewing his zeale against her errors, whereupon shee asked for what error she had been banished, professing withall that shee held none of these things shee was now charged with, before her imprisonment; (supposing that whatsoever should be found amisse, would be imputed to that, but it was answered as the truth was, that shee was not put to durance, but only a favourable confinement, so as all of her family and divers others, resorted to her at their pleasure.) But this allegation was then proved false, (and at her next convention more fully) for there were divers present, who did know shee spake untruth. Her answer being demanded to the first Articles, shee maintained her assertion that the Soules were mortall, &c. alledging the place in the *Ecclesiastic* cited in the Article, and some other Scriptures nothing to the purpose, shee insisted much upon that in *Gen. 1.* In the day thou eatest, &c. thou shalt dye, shee could not see how a Soule could be immortally miserable, though it might be eternally miserable, neither could shee distinguish between the Soule and the Life; and though shee were pressed by many Scriptures and reasons alledged by the Elders of the same, and other Churches, so as shee could not give any answer to them, yet shee stood to her opinion, till at length a stranger being desired to speak to the point, and hee opening to her the difference

difference between the Soule and the Life, the first being a spirituall substance, and the other the union of that with the body; shee then confessed shee saw more light then before, and so with some difficulty was brought to confesse her error in that point. Wherein was to bee observed that though shee spake to very good purpose, and so clearly convinced her as shee could not gain-say, yet it was evident shee was convinced before, but shee could not give the honour of it to her own Pastor or teacher, nor to any of the other Elders, whom shee had so much slighted.

Then they proceeded to the third, fourth, and fifth Articles, about the body and the resurrection of the old, which she maintained according to the Articles, and though she were not able to give any reasonable answer to the many places of the Scripture, and other arguments which were brought to convince her, yet she still persisted in her error, giving forward speeches to some that spake to her, as when one of the Elders used this argument, that if the resurrection were only our union with Christ, then all that are united, are the children of the resurrection, and therefore are neither to marry, nor to give in marriage, and so by consequence, there ought to bee community of women; she told him that he spake like the Pharisees, who said that Christ had a devill, because that Abraham were dead and the Prophets, and yet hee had said, that those which eate his flesh, should never dye; not taking the speech in the true meaning, so did hee (said shee) who brought that argument, for it is said there, they should bee like the Angels, &c. The Elders of Boston finding her thus obdurate, propounded to the Church for an admonition to bee given her, to which all the Church consented, except two of her sons, who because they persisted to defend her, were under admonition also. Mr. Cummings gave the admonition, & first to her sons; laying it sadly upon them, that they would give such way to their naturall affection, as for preserving her honour, they should make a breach upon the honour of Christ, and upon their Covenant with the Church, and withall teare the very bowels of their soule, by hardning her in her sin: In this admonition to her, first, hee remiembred her of the good way shee was in at her first coming, in helping to discover to divers, the false bottom they stood upon, in trusting to legall works without Christ, then he shewed her, how by falling into these grosse and fundamentall errors, she had lost the honour of her former service, and done more wrong to Christ and his Church, then formerly shee had done good; and so laid her in to her conscience with much zeale and solemnity, hee admonished her also of the height of spirit, then he spake to the sisters of the Church, and advised them to take heed of her opinions, and to with-hold all countenance and respects from her, lest they should harden her in her sin: so she was dismissed and appointed to appeare again that day sevensnight.

The Court had ordered that shee should return to *Roxbury* again, but upon intimation that her spirit began to fall, shee was permitted to remain at Mr. Cummings house (where *Davenport* was also kept) who before her next appearing, did

did both take much pains with her, and prevailed so far, that shee did acknowledge her error in all the Articles (except the last) and accordingly shee wrote down her answers to them all, when the day came, and shee was called forth and the Articles read again to her, shee delivered in her answers in writing, which were also read, and being then willing to speake to the Congregation for their further satisfaction, shee did acknowledge that shee had greatly erred, and that God had left her to her selfe herein, because shee had so much undervalued his Ordinances, both in slighting the Magistrate at the Court, and also the Elders of the Church, and confessed that when shee was at the Court, shee looked only at such failings as shee apprehended in the Magistrates Proceedings, without having regard to the place they were in, and that the speeches shee then used about her revelations were rash, and without ground, and she desired the prayers of the Church for her.

Thus farre shee went on well, and the Assembly conceived hopes of her repentance, but in her answers to the severall articles, shee gave no satisfaction, because in diverse of them shee answered by circumlocutions, and seemed to lay all the faults in her expressions, which occasioned some of the Elders to desire shee might expresse her self more clearly, and for that ever shee was demanded about the Article, whether shee were not, or had not been of that judgement, that there is no inherent righteousness in the Saints, but those gifts and graces which are ascribed to them that are onely in Christ as the subject, to which shee answered, that shee was never of that judgement, howsoever by her expressions shee might seem to bee so; and this shee affirmed with such confidence as bred great astonishment in many, who had known the contrary, and diverse alledged her owne sayings and reasonings, both before her confinement, and since, which did manifest to all that were present, that shee knew that shee spoke untruth, for it was proved that shee had alledged that in *Isaiah 58.* By his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many; which shee had maintained to bee meant of a knowledge in Christ, and not in us; so likewise that in *Galatians*, I live by the faith of the Sonne of God, which shee said was the faith of Christ, and not any faith inherent in us; also, that shee had maintained, that Christ is our sanctification in the same sort that hee is our justification, and that shee had said, that shee would not pray for grace, but for Christ, and that (when shee had been pressed with diverse Scriptures, which spake of washing and creating a new heart, and writing the Law in the heart, &c.) shee had denied, that they did mean any sanctification in us: There were diverse women also with whom shee had dealt about the same point, who (if their modesty had not restrained them) would have borne witness against her herein, (as themselves after confessed) wherefore the Elders pressed her very earnestly to remember her selfe, and not to stand so obdutely to maintain so manifest an untruth, but shee was deaf of that eare, and would not acknowledge that shee had been at any time of that judgement, howsoever her expressions were. Then

Mr. *Cook* told the Assembly, that whereas shee had been formerly dealt with for matter of doctrine, he had (according to the duty of his place being the teacher of the Church) proceeded against unto admonition, but now the case being altered, and shee being in question for maintaining of ontruth, which is matter of manners, shee must leave the businesse to the Pastor, Mr. *Wilson* to go on with her, but withall declared his judgement in the case from that in *Revel. 22.* that such as make and maintain a lye, ought to bee cast out of the Church, and whereas two or three objected that she might first have a second admonition, according to that in *Titus 3.* too. shee answered that that was only for such as erred in point of doctrine, but such as shall notoriously offend in matter of conversation, ought to be presently cast out, as hie proved by *Ananias* and *Saphira*, and the incestuous Corinthian, (and as appears by that of *Simon Magus*) and for her own part though shee heard this moved in her behalfe, that shee might have a further respite, yet shee her selfe never desired it: To the Pastor went on, and propounding it to the Church, to know whether they were all agreed, that shee should bee cast out, and a full consent appearing (after the usuall manner) by their silence, after a convenient pause hee proceeded, and denounced the sentence of excommunication against her, and shee was commanded to depart out of the Assembly. In her going forth, one standing at the doore, said, The Lord sanctifie this unto you, to whom shee made answer, The Lord judgeth not as man judgeth, better to bee cast out of the Church then to deny Christ.

Thus it hath pleased the Lord to have compassion of his poore Churches here, and to discover this great impostor, an instrument of Satan so fitted and trained to his service for interrupting the passage of his kingdom in this part of the world, and poisoning the Churches here planted, as no story records the like of a woman since that mentioned in the *Revelation*; it would make a large volume to lay down all passages, I will only observe some few, which were obvious to all that knew her course.

1. Her entrance. 2. Her progresse. 3. Her downfall.
 1. The foundation shee laid, was (or rather seemed to bee) Christ and Free-Grace.
 2. Rule shee pretended to walk by, was only the Scripture.
 3. The light to discern this rule, was only the Holy Ghost.
 4. The persons shee conversed with were (for the most part) Christians in Church Covenant.
 5. Her ordinary talk was about the things of the Kingdom of God.
 6. Her usuall conversation was in the way of righteousness and kindness.
- Thus shee entered and made up the first act of her course.

In her progresse I observe,

First, her successe, shee had in a short time insinuated her selfe into the hearts of much of the people (yea of many of the most wise and godly) who grew into so reverent

reverent an estimate of her godliness, and spirituall gifts, w^{ch} they looked at her as a Prophetesse, raised up of God for some great work w^{as} at hand, as the calling of the Jews, &c. so as they had more respect to her for counsell about matters of conscience, and clearing up mens spirituall estates, then any Minister (I might say all the Elders) in the Country.

Secondly, Paide and arraigning of her spirit.

1. In framing a new way of conversation and evidencing thereof, carryed along in the distinction between the Covenant of works, which she would have no otherw^{ise} difference, but by an immediate Revelation of the Spirit.

2. In despising all (both Elders and Christians) who went her way, and laying them under a Covenant of works.

3. In taking upon her infallibly to know the election of others, so as she would say, that if shee had but one halfe houres talk with a man, she would tell whether hee were elect or not.

4. Her impatience of opposition, which appears in divers passages before.

Thirdly, Her skill and cunning to deceive.

1. In that shee still pretended shee was of Mr. C^{on}ns judgement in all things.

2. In covering her errors by doubtfull expressions.

3. In shadowing the true end, and abuse of her weekly meetings under the name of repeating Mr. C^{on}ns Sermons.

4. In her method of practise to bring the conscience under a false terror, by working that an argument of a Covenant of works, which no Christian can have comfort without viz. of sanctification, or qualifications, (as she termed it).

5. In her confident profession of her own good estate, and the clearness and comfort of it, obtained in the same way of waiting for immediate Revelation which shee held out to others.

In her downfall there may be observed the Lords sanctification in honouring and justifying his own Ordinances.

1. In that hee made her to cleare the justice of the Court, by confessing the vanity of her revelations, &c. and her sin in despising his Ministers.

2. In that the judgement and sentence of the Church hath concurred with that of the Court in her rejection, so that shee is cast out of both as an unworthy member of either.

3. The Justice of God in giving her up to those delusions; and to that impudency in venting and maintaining them, as should bring her under that censure which (not long before) shee had indeavoured and expected to have brought upon some other, who opposed her proceedings.

4. That she who was in such esteem in the Church for soundness of judgment and sincerity of heart (but a few moneths before) should now come under admonition for many foule and fundamentall errors, and after bee cast out for notorious lying.

5. That she who was wont to be so confident of her spirituall good state, and ready (undared) to hold it forth to others, (being pressed now at her last appearance before the Church to give some proofe of it) should be wholly silent in that matter.

6. Whereas upon the sentence of the Court against her, she boasted highly of her sufferings for Christ, &c. It was noted by one of the Elders (who bare witness against her errors) that the spirit of glory promised in *Ps.* to those who suffer for well-doing, did not come upon her, but a spirit of delusion, and damnable error, which as it had possessed her before, so it became more effectual and evident by her sufferings.

7. Here is to be seen the presence of God in his Ordinances, when they are faithfully attended according to his holy will, although not free from humane infirmities: This *American Josiah* kept her strength and reputation, even among the people of God, till the hand of Civill Justice laid hold on her, and then she began evidently to decline, and the faithfull to be freed from her snarles, and now in this last act, when she might have expected (as most likely she did) by her seeming repentance of her errors, and confessing her undervaluing of the Ordinances of Magistracy and Ministry, to have redeemed her reputation in point of sincerity, and yet have made good all her former work, and kept open a back doore to have returned to her vomit again by her panaphrasticall retractations, and denying any change in her judgements, yet such was the presence and blessing of God in his own Ordinance, that this subtilty of Satan was discovered to her utter shame and confusion, and to the setting at liberty of many godly hearts, that had been captivated by her to that day, and that Church which by her means was brought under much infamy, and neere to dissolution, was hereby sweetly repaired, and a hopefull way of establishment, and her dissembled repentance cleer detected, God giving her up since the sentence of excommunication, to that handle of heart, as she is not affected with any remorse, but glories in it, and fears not the vengeance of God, which she lyes under, as if God did work contrary to his own word, and looked from heaven, while his Church had bound upon earth.

FINIS.

